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ABSTRACT

This report discusses the education of Latinos, Blacks, and low-income students in California. Over the past 10 years, California's society has shifted from a predominantly White to a predominantly ethnic society. The number of the state's people living in poverty has increased, and poverty has been concentrating in big cities. The achievement gap between Latino and Black students and other students is significant. The report suggests that the causes of low achievement include the quality of education that poor and minority children receive and an environment that has limited resources with which to support students. Some schools have attained high achievement among minority and low-income students. Foremost among common characteristics of these schools is a belief that all students can learn. Three of these schools, Sweetwater High School, Claremont Middle School, and Bell Gardens Elementary School are covered. Fifteen recommendations concerning the curriculum, teachers, principals, parents, and communities of California are offered. The report concludes with an appendix. (RJC)

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UNFINISHED BUSINESS

Fulfilling Our Children's Promise

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THE ACHIEVEMENT COUNCIL

Unfinished Business

Fulfilling Our Children's Promise

A Report From

The Achievement Council

by

Kati Haycock and M. Susana Navarro

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May, 1988

The Achievement Council is a non-profit organization aimed at increasing academic achievement among minority and low-income students in California. Since 1984, the Council has worked with schools toward broad school improvement and increased student achievement, and has shared what it learns with policymakers, encouraging them to move in more promising directions. The Council also assists parents and communities in finding better ways to support achievement.

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FOREWORD

In 1983, concerned about the large achievement gap that separated minority and low-income students from other young Californians, we came together across institutional and organizational lines to create a new organization, called the Achievement Council, to focus renewed attention on this continuing dilemma. Prior to that time, many of us had been involved in a variety of special efforts designed to address the educational problems of minority and poor students. But it was becoming clear to us, as it was to many others, that special programs would not be sufficient to close the gap. In order to find effective solutions to this vexing problem, we needed to look beyond special programs at the roots of low achievement: we needed, in particular, to look honestly at the ways whole schools function, and at problems in surrounding communities.

We were not the only ones looking at education that year. Inspired by *A Nation at Risk*, leaders from both the education and business worlds were fashioning reform strategies for California public schools. In general, these sought to establish higher standards and to focus attention on educational quality.

The Achievement Council strongly supported this renewed focus on academics and the adoption of a rich and rigorous curriculum for all students. At the same time, we were concerned that California's reform initiatives might bypass the very schools most in need of improvement: those that serve minority and poor youngsters. However, instead of pointing a finger of blame, we decided on a strategy aimed at helping those schools to improve. We would learn what works—and what doesn't—in raising achievement among minority and poor students, then use this information to fashion new initiatives to help predominantly minority schools through an improvement process. As we proceeded, we would share our models with policymakers, encouraging them to move in more promising directions.

In the four years since the Achievement Council was incorporated, we have mounted a number of initiatives and have amassed a good deal of experience working with low-performing schools and the communities that surround them. Much of what we have learned from those efforts is passed along in the following report.

The report has a broader purpose, as well. In our view, California is headed for serious trouble. Our population is increasingly diverse. Yet, as is clear in the data on the following pages, the low achievement patterns that characterize certain large and growing segments of that population—especially Latinos, Blacks, and poor youngsters of all races—continue unabated. Special categorical programs have not changed those patterns; neither have the more recent reform strategies.

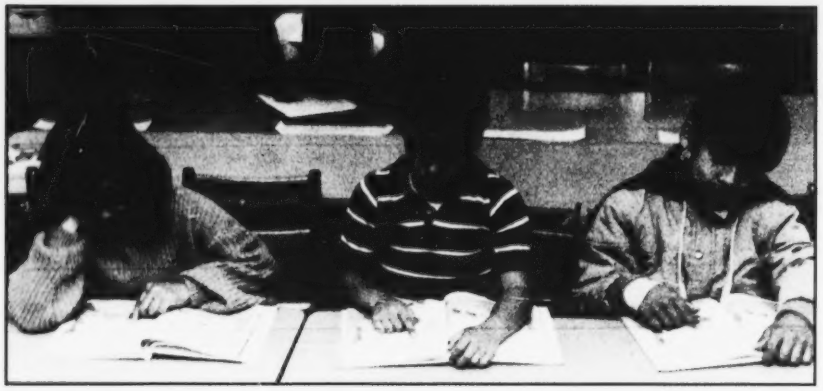
The price for continued failure to mount an all-out attack on these problems is huge—and will keep growing:

- our economic system, increasingly dependent upon well-educated workers, will be crippled by the lack of qualified young people;
- we will continue paying huge downstream costs—more police and prisons, welfare, housing subsidies, and health care—for adults who can't qualify for jobs that will enable them to support themselves and their families;
- more and more of our citizenry will be unprepared for the privileges and responsibilities of full participation in our democracy; and,
- our society will become increasingly divided, with a well-educated minority, composed primarily of Whites and Asians, dominating the upper tiers, while a poorly educated majority, composed primarily of Latinos and Blacks, remains at the bottom.

We have been convinced by the many schools that are making a difference for their students that this situation can be avoided. But we must start now.

We hope that the following report will stimulate renewed attention to this matter by educational and community leaders. More importantly, we hope it will prompt an aggressive new effort to change current achievement patterns.

The Achievement Council



From the Authors

A Few Notes About This Report

In producing a report like the one on the following pages, troublesome decisions must always be made. We had three especially difficult decisions, each of which should be noted in advance.

- *Which Groups to Cover.* Although there are many important population groups in California, this report directs most of its attention to Latinos and Blacks, and to low-income students regardless of race. Achievement patterns for these groups are generally compared to those among White students.

  Comparative data are also provided on Asian students; because most sources combine various Asian groups, we have been forced to do the same. The reader should keep in mind that this may mask problems with certain Asian groups, especially Indochinese students.

  Finally, despite our interest in California students of Native American descent, we have not included information on them here because data on this group are often unreliable, and worse, misleading. The problems of these students warrant special inquiry.

- *What to Call The Groups.* It seems to us no longer appropriate to use majority/minority terminology. Although we searched diligently for better words, we found none that weren't bothersome to many. Wherever possible, then, we simply call the ethnic groups by name. Occasionally, however, we use "ethnic" or "minority" as convenient shorthand. Also, we have chosen to use the term Latino to refer to all students of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Central and South American, and Hispanic descent.

- *What Needs to Discuss.* In both our descriptions of current achievement patterns and our analysis of the roots of these patterns, we have tried to provide as complete a picture as possible without overwhelming the reader. There is, however, one glaring exception to our attempt toward comprehensiveness: we do not discuss the language issue.

  The language of instruction is critically important in providing access to education for large groups of students. We have, nevertheless, chosen not to address this issue here. Our focus, instead, is on the less well-understood effects of school-wide organization, leadership, and instructional processes on minority student achievement.

Acknowledgements

Early in the process of conceptualizing this work, we asked the heads of California's major educational institutions and a number of other agencies to join us in appointing a Task Force on Minority Achievement Patterns. Members of this Task Force were essential in shaping the course of data collection and in interpreting some of the data. Their assistance, and that of their respective institutions, was invaluable during the course of this project.

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- Diane August, Manuel Gomez, Judy Kingsley, Ted Lobman, Phyllis McClure, Ruth Mitchell, Fred Nelson, Laurie Olson, Arturo Pacheco and Ron Vera for careful readings of the draft and advice on particular sections;
- Denise Holt, for travelling to schools across the state and describing beautifully what successful schools do for their students;
- Peggy Estrada, a postdoctoral fellow at Stanford, and Richard Turman, Roy Morales and Andrea Goldfein, graduate students at UC Berkeley, who assisted in tracking down and analyzing critical pieces of data;
- Theony Condos for her careful editing;
- And most of all, Nola Marshall and Francine Smith, who helped in typing the many drafts of the report and keeping track of both us and the mounds of data we collected.

Finally, we wish to thank the ARCO Foundation for its contribution toward publishing this report. ARCO has been an invaluable supporter of the Achievement Council since the Council's earliest days; we are grateful for the continued support.

K.H. & M.S.N.

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PART ONE
INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

Next year, nearly half a million young Californians will take the first step on their journey through school. Like those who have already taken those first steps, these youngsters will be wide-eyed about what this new experience will hold and full of enthusiasm about the future.

Unless their experience is much different from that of those who preceded them, however, much of that enthusiasm will soon disappear. Somewhere along the line, their excitement will dim; their hunger for knowledge will fade.

For many, this process will begin very early in their school careers. Even in first grade, some youngsters will get a sense that something is wrong with them; that somehow they're just not doing things right. Others will get the message that they don't belong.

Some of the reasons for this are bound up in the schools themselves; others stem from complex problems in the surrounding communities. Whatever the reason, though, many of these very young students will begin to question whether school is for them, and a pattern of low achievement will be set in motion.

By sixth or seventh grade, many will not be proficient in the basic skills and will be far behind their peers. Though still in school, they will have dropped out mentally. Before high school graduation, they, and many of their peers, will drop out altogether: one-third of all tenth graders will leave high school without a diploma.

Among California's large and growing population of ethnic and poor youngsters, the statistics are especially startling. Almost one-half of Latino and Black students leave school before graduating. Of those who do graduate, only about one in ten are eligible to enter 4-year colleges and only one in fifty obtain degrees.

But there are serious achievement problems among White and Asian students, as well. About 25% of White students and 15% of Asian students do not complete high school. And, while Asian graduates are maintaining or improving their college eligibility rates, eligibility rates among White graduates are falling.

A Call to Action

Five years ago, the National Commission on Excellence in Education reported on America's declining academic competitiveness and urged immediate improvement in the nation's schools. Although the primary focus was on students in general, the Commission's report, *A Nation at Risk*, did not ignore achievement differences between groups. "Part of what is at risk," they said, "is the promise first made on this continent. All, regardless of race or class or economic status, are entitled to a fair chance and to the tools for developing their individual powers of mind and spirit to the utmost."

Few reports have given rise to so much activity, so quickly. Within just 18 months, major reform efforts were underway in most states.

California was no exception. In 1983, the Governor and Legislature approved a set of education reforms aimed at providing more resources for public schools and setting higher standards for California students. Among other things, course requirements for high school graduation were increased, and curriculum guidelines and textbook reviews were made more rigorous. The public postsecondary sector, too, tightened up its policies, setting higher admissions standards.

"Part of what is at risk is the promise first made on this continent. All, regardless of race or class or economic status, are entitled to a fair chance and to the tools for developing their individual powers of mind and spirit to the utmost."

—A Nation at Risk

Achievement: 1984-1987

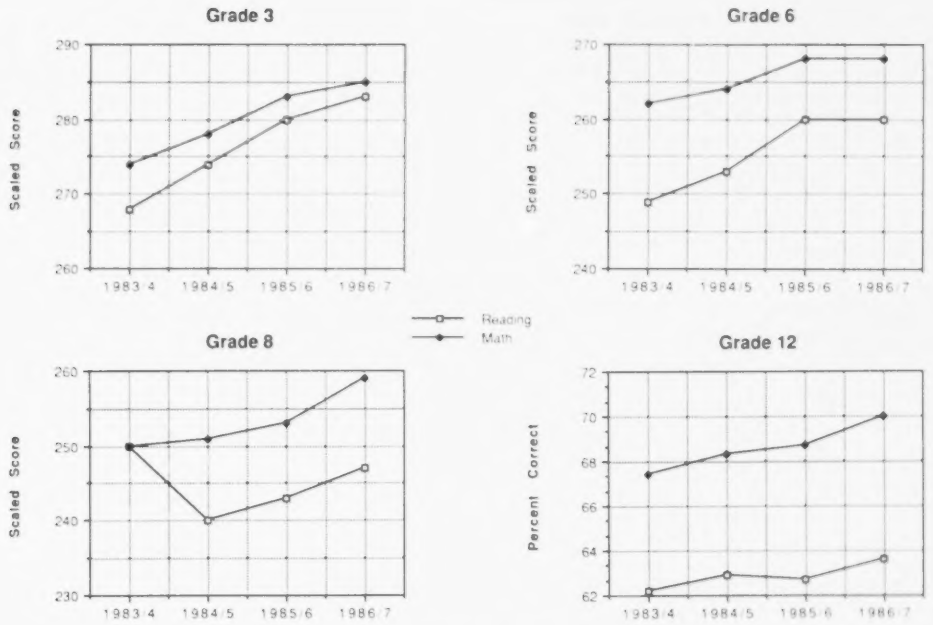
It is not possible to say with any certainty how a particular reform—or even the whole set of reforms—influenced the trends in student achievement that have occurred over the past five years. But if one examines statewide averages without reference to patterns among different population groups, most indicators are up.

- Test scores were higher in 1986-87 than in the previous five year period at all tested grade levels;
- Enrollment rates in academic courses were higher in 1986-87 than in the previous five year period, while enrollment in non-academic courses declined;
- More students were taking college entrance tests and entering four-year colleges.

However, these averages mask an increasingly high attrition rate and a large achievement gap between ethnic groups.

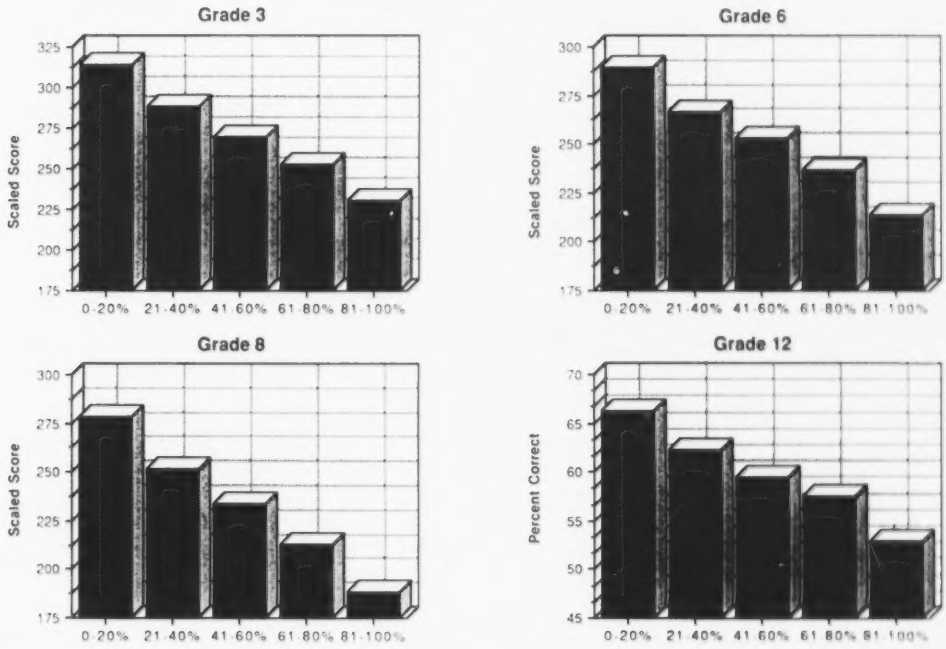
- Among all students, attrition between grade 10 and high school graduation increased from 29% in 1983 to 33% in 1987. Among Latinos and Blacks, attrition rates climbed to 45% and 48%;
- Although test scores improved in both predominantly White and predominantly Latino and Black schools, the achievement gap between such schools is huge and remains essentially unchanged since 1984;
- The gap in achievement test scores between Latino and Black students and their White peers grows as students progress through the grades. In the primary grades, minority students perform about six months behind White students; by grade 12, they are about three years behind.

California Assessment Program
Statewide Trends



Source: California State Department of Education. Sacramento, California.

1987 CAP Reading Scores
Schools by Percent Latino and Black



Source: California State Department of Education, unpublished data. Sacramento, California.

ATTRITION
Grade 10 through High School Graduation
1983-1987

Class of 1983	Class of 1984	Class of 1985	Class of 1986	Class of 1987
28.8	30.5	31.9	31.7	32.7

Source: California State Department of Education.

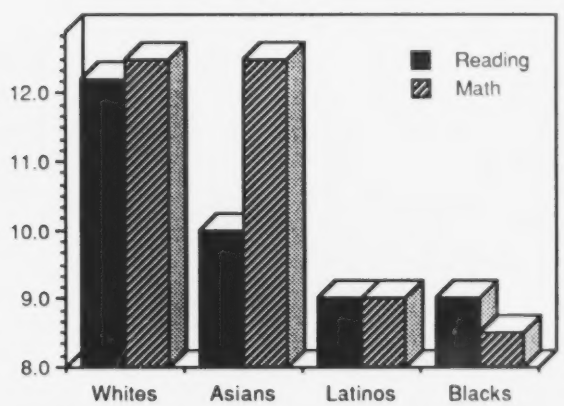
Minority Student Achievement

Between 1984 and 1987, as for many years before, ethnicity and low achievement went hand-in-hand. In each of those years, students in predominantly minority schools performed at low levels on the California Assessment Program (CAP), with performance declining as the proportion of Latino and Black students increased.

. . . most Black and Latino seniors have skill levels about the same as White students* entering *grade 9.

In fact, Latino and Black students consistently perform below other students, regardless of whether they attend predominantly White or predominantly minority schools. In the primary grades, Blacks and Latinos, on average, perform about six months behind other students. By the 6th grade the gap grows to about one year. By 8th grade, it is around two years, and by 12th grade, the gap reaches a whopping three years. In fact, most Black and Latino *seniors* have skill levels about the same as White students *entering* grade 9.

California High School Seniors
Grade Level Performance
1987



Source: California State Department of Education, unpublished data. Sacramento, California.

In many districts, Black and Latino students also earn grades far below those of their White or Asian peers. In Oakland, for example, approximately 80% of Latino students and 75% of Black students conclude their junior years with cumulative grade point averages below 2.0. In San Diego, approximately 53% of Black students and 45% of Latino students conclude their junior years with less than a 2.0 GPA.

These students also enroll in college preparatory courses and take college admissions tests at a much lower rate. Between 1983 and 1986, while Black and Latino students increased their enrollment in college preparatory courses, the number of such students completing all or most of the courses necessary to gain admission to the University of California (and, increasingly, to the State University) actually fell.

It's not surprising, then, that so many of these students do not graduate. While the state attrition rate for Blacks and Latinos is almost 50%, at many high schools with large minority enrollments it is closer to 70%. Even among those who do graduate, very few become eligible for college and fewer still will obtain a bachelors degree.

Although the data are less complete, available evidence suggests similar patterns for poor students from all ethnic groups. At every level of our system, there is a large gap between students whose parents are well educated and hold professional jobs and those whose parents are less well educated and underemployed.

These trends are especially troublesome in view of the increasing diversity of the California population. Between 1980 and 1986, the number of both minority and poor children increased dramatically. Unfortunately, our effectiveness in educating these youngsters did not increase simultaneously. While there was progress in some areas and at some levels, there were also troubling declines. On the whole, the achievement gap between Latino and Black students, and other students, remains enormous.

Roots of Low Achievement

Many people think that these achievement patterns are the result of problems inherent in the students or their families. They believe that all students are taught basically the same things, but that some—especially ethnic minorities and the poor—manage to learn less.

The facts, however, are quite different. Into the education of poor and minority children, we put less of everything we believe makes a difference. Less experienced and well-trained teachers. Less instructional time. Less rich and well-balanced curricula. Less well-equipped facilities. And less of what may be most important of

Into the education of poor and minority children, we put less of everything we believe makes a difference.

all: a belief that these youngsters can really learn. All in all, we teach poor and minority students less.

This is compounded by the fact that some communities have less, too. Less knowledge about how the educational system works. Less ability to help with homework. Less money to finance educational extras. Less stability in the neighborhood. Fewer models of success. And hopes and dreams that too often are crushed by harsh economic conditions.

It's no wonder, then, that certain groups of children do less well in school.

The Costs of Underachievement

These inequities, and the achievement patterns to which they give rise, pose a serious threat to the well-being of every Californian, regardless of age or color.

Over the next two decades, most new jobs available in this state will require education beyond high school. Now, however, fewer than 40% of our young people enter college and many do not remain through graduation. Among minority students, soon to comprise a majority of the state's entry-level workers, college entry and completion rates are a great deal lower. If these trends continue, many jobs requiring college education will go begging, and many California employers may have to consider moving out of the state.

At the same time, many of the young people who could fill those professional-level jobs will themselves go begging. The number of living-wage blue-collar jobs in this State has fallen dramatically and will continue to decline. Those jobs that remain have neither wages nor benefits sufficient to support an individual, let alone a family.

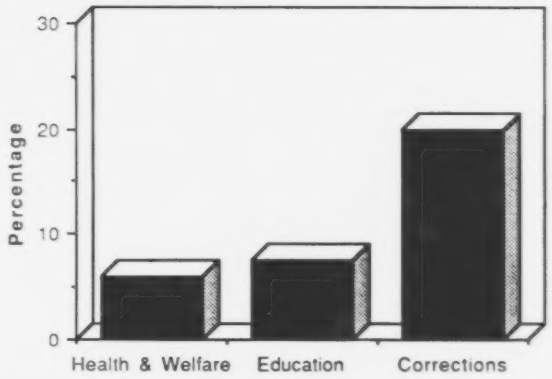
Statistics on drop outs illustrate the costs we all pay for a poorly educated citizenry. Recent studies show that only two short years after leaving school:

- females who have dropped out, married or not, are six times as likely as females who have graduated to have children;
- female drop outs are also more than nine times as likely as graduates to be on welfare;
- drop outs are more than three times as likely to be unemployed and seeking work, not to mention the many that give up looking; and,
- drop outs are more than four times as likely to have been in trouble with the law.

The costs to California of these troubles are huge now and will only grow. California's prison population, for example, is growing much faster than the population as a whole. The Department of Corrections anticipates that the current prison population of 69,030 will soar to 105,000 by 1992. Each of these inmates costs the taxpayers about $17,000 per year to support: nearly double the cost of one year at the University of California.

And these are not the only costs of underachievement. As the number of undereducated Latino, Black, and poor students grows, so, too, does the difference between California's haves and have-nots. Our society will grow increasingly divided—its parts more at odds with one another. And a smaller and smaller proportion of our citizenry will be prepared for the privileges and responsibilities of full participation in our democracy.

Average Annual Expenditure Increases in Health, Education and Corrections



Source: Governor's Budgets, 1982-1988.

As the number of undereducated Latino, Black, and poor students grows, so, too, does the difference between California's haves and have-nots. Our society will grow increasingly divided—its parts more at odds with one another.

California's Choices

At the moment, California seems headed down a deadly path. Not, perhaps, by deliberate choice, as much as by the absence of long-range policymaking. Each year, we will spend more and more on the consequences of our failure to educate our young people. More corrections and probation costs. More police and welfare costs. More indigent health care and low-income housing subsidies.

All of these will place ever greater demands on the economic system, which will itself be seriously weakened by the dearth of well-educated workers. And the more we spend on the consequences, the less we will have left for schools, creating a vicious cycle of failure.

There is, we suggest, an alternative. We can get serious about our children. We can do what it takes to provide a quality education to each. And we can make especially sure that those who are most vulnerable, both academically and otherwise, have the education and support services that they need to become contributing members of society.

There is, we suggest, an alternative. We can get serious about our children. We can do what it takes to provide a quality education to each.

We suggest not only that we *can* do these things, but that we *must*. If we invest in our children *now*, rather than paying the consequences *later*, *every* Californian will benefit.

A Strategy for California

A strategy focused on California's children will, by definition, have many varied components. But while a variety of services may be involved, we believe that changes in education—both that provided within the school and that provided in the home and community—must be at the heart of the new strategy.

As we look around California, we see many predominantly minority schools that have successfully raised student achievement and many others working hard to do so. We also see a number of promising community-based efforts to help parents translate their high aspirations for their children into day-to-day strategies that encourage high achievement.

These school and community efforts have proven that change is possible even under the most difficult conditions. These efforts have demonstrated the power of people who won't give up—and they have proven that *all* students can learn. In these experiences are the seeds of a new education strategy for California.

Our proposed strategy goes hand-in-hand with the state's ongoing drive for high standards and a rich curriculum. It acknowledges, however, that some schools and students are much further than others from commonly accepted standards of excellence and provides them with the help they need to meet those standards.

If we embark on this course starting now, the business of providing education of true quality to *all* young Californians can be completed by the time the Class of 2000 concludes its studies. The promise of providing to *all* students the chance to develop themselves to the utmost will have been fulfilled. As of now, those promises have yet to be kept; that business remains unfinished.

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Recommendations

Our full strategy is laid out in the final sections of this report. The central elements, however, include the following:

- an aggressive statewide initiative to improve school functioning and raise student achievement in the lowest performing schools;
- a rigorous curriculum, rich in ideas and concepts, for *all* students, and the elimination of most homogeneous ability grouping and tracking practices;
- priority attention from university-, county-, and state-sponsored staff development and school improvement programs to the needs in low-performing schools;
- an expanded accountability system, wherein schools are obligated to mount sustained efforts to improve achievement among minority and low-income students, and state officials must account publicly for their efforts to assure that this takes place, up to and including takeover of low-performing schools that do not make significant gains within a 5-year period;
- improvements in recruitment, selection, professional preparation and support programs for teachers and administrators; and,
- an expanded role for ethnic and community organizations in supporting and encouraging high achievement, especially through work with parents.

PART TWO
THE CHANGING CHARACTER OF CALIFORNIA

California: Land of Opportunity. Long a magnet to those yearning for a better life, the Golden State is now home to a population of 28 million—up from 23 million just eight years ago.

Not just the largest state in the nation, but also the most diverse, California combines huge urban centers and remote Sierra villages. Crowded beaches and vast empty deserts. Super rich and dirt poor. Farmworkers and corporate executives. Latino, Asian; Black, White; Catholic, Jew; fifth-generation Japanese-American, newly-arrived Cambodian. Together, these contrasts *are* California.

California has always been a land of diversity. In the last ten years, though, the makeup of our state has changed more rapidly than ever before. These changes will continue for many years to come.

Four trends are especially important. First, California continued its transition from predominantly White to predominantly ethnic. Second, the number of people living in poverty—especially Latinos, and women and children of all ethnic groups—increased dramatically. Third, the gap between California's haves and have-nots also increased: the rich grew richer and the poor grew poorer. Finally, poverty has become increasingly concentrated in our big cities.

In order to understand what is happening in our educational system, it is important to know something about each of these trends. We thus begin this report with a few facts about the changing character of our state.

Our Changing Ethnic Mix

Numerous demographers have documented the changing ethnic makeup of California. Their message is clear: what was once a relatively homogeneous society is fast becoming extraordinarily heterogeneous. By the year 2010, no single ethnic group will be able to lay claim to "majority" status. We will all, in effect, be minorities.

Several factors account for this change, including:

- Immigration: Approximately two-thirds of the world's immigration is to the U.S.—and nearly half of that is to California.
- Birth rate: The birthrate for Latinos (2.7 children per female), Blacks (1.8), and Asians (1.8), exceeds that for Whites (1.4).
- Migration: While many Californians move to other states, a larger number of residents of other states migrate here. Net positive migration is considerably higher among Latinos and Blacks.

As a consequence of these trends, Latinos now comprise about 24% of the population; they will comprise 27% in 2000. (This is up from just 12% in 1970). Asians comprise 9% of the state's population and should increase to 12% by 2000. The Black population, while increasing at a slower rate, will, nevertheless, comprise 8% of the state's population by the year 2000. And the White population will decline from the present 62% to 54%.

Increasing Poverty Among Californians

Rapid population changes have been accompanied by a dramatic increase in the number of people living in poverty. Although aggregate poverty rates in California are below the national average, the rate of increase during the early eighties has been greater. Between 1980 and 1986, the percentage of Californians living below the poverty level increased from 10.6% to 14.6%. The *number* of poor Californians grew from 2.4 to 3.9 million. This increase is due largely to dramatically increased poverty among Latinos, and among women and children.

The increase in poverty among Latinos is startling. In 1980, approximately 16.6% of California Latinos lived below the poverty level. By 1986, Latinos surpassed Blacks (whose poverty rate dropped slightly) as the group with the greatest poverty rate: an appalling 28.2%.

Ethnic Poverty Rates

	1980	1986
Latinos	16.6%	28.2%
Blacks	24.1	21.6
Whites	7.2	8.4

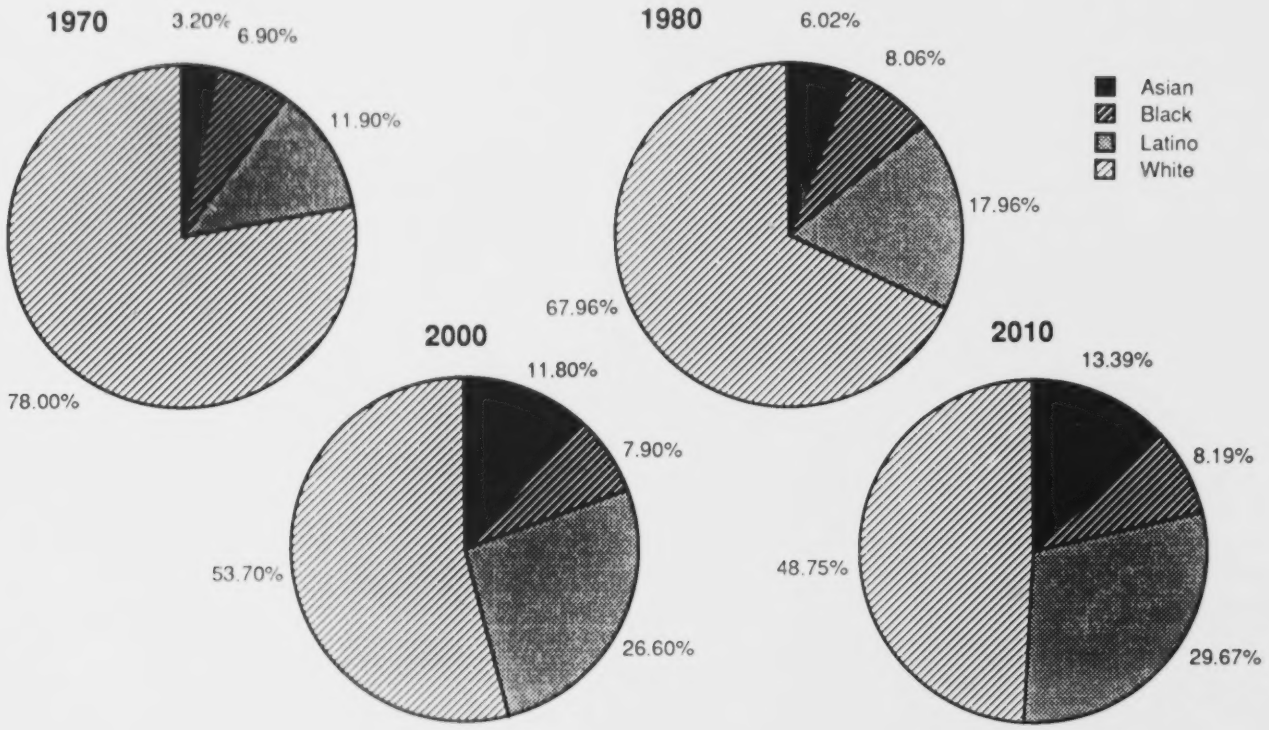
Source: "Current Population Survey Report, 1980; 1986." California State Census Data Center.

While many senior citizens in California experience serious financial hardship, poverty among seniors as a whole has declined during the eighties. By contrast, among California's children, the last few years have been devastating.

In 1980, about one in six children was growing up poor. By 1986, the poverty rate had increased to one in four children. Among ethnic minorities, the rates are higher.

In 1980, about one in six children was growing up poor. By 1986, the poverty rate had increased to one in four children.

Changes in California Population
1970-2010



Source: Population Research Unit, State Department of Finance, Sacramento, California.

California Children in Poverty

	1980	1986
Number children in Poverty	946,030	1,723,098
Percent of All Children	15.7%	24.3%

Source: "Current Population Survey Reports, 1980; 1986." California State Census Data Center.

Widening Gap Between Rich and Poor

Nationally, the decade between 1975 and 1985 brought a decline in the income of all but the richest families in the nation, with especially pronounced drops for the poor. And, while overall data for California suggest greater prosperity, the actual patterns here are quite similar to those in the country as a whole.

In general, California's poor became poorer and rich became richer. The median constant-dollar income for the lowest one-fifth of all California families, for example, declined by approximately 9% over the decade, to $8919. By contrast, families in the top one-fifth saw their median income grow by 14%, to $69,662.

Change in Family Income
1975-85

Wealthiest 20% ..... ↑ 14% to $69,662

Poorest 20% ..... ↓ 9% to $ 8,919

Source: Senate Office of Research.

Among Californians, Latinos were hardest hit over the ten year period, while White families did best. For example, with the number of White families remaining fairly stable, approximately 7000 fewer such families found themselves in the lowest 20% of earners by the

end of the decade, while 6000 more found themselves among the top 20%. By contrast, the number of Latino families in the bottom 20% increased dramatically, from 217,069 to 366,375. And, although there were slightly fewer Blacks in the lowest earning group, the income of those in the bottom 60% declined by about 5%.

As the Senate Office of Research recently pointed out, "While the top 40% of California families have continued to increase their prosperity since 1977, the other 60% of California families have either barely regained their 1977 status after suffering a loss of prosperity or have lost ground steadily." The trend is clear: "increasing wealth during a time of increasing poverty."

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Increasing Concentration of Poverty

There are also clear signs that the poor are becoming increasingly isolated in California's largest metropolitan areas. In the sixties and seventies, there were mixes of people from varying economic backgrounds in city neighborhoods. In the eighties, however, we see more communities that are predominantly poor. Neighborhoods that used to house *some* poor people, now house *only* the poor.

Neighborhoods that used to house* some *poor people, now house* only *the poor.

Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) statistics for the West Oakland area provide an example of this trend. Although the poverty rate here has been high for many years, recent concentrations have reached alarming proportions. Department of Social Services data suggest that nearly 100% of all single-parent families in the area are currently receiving AFDC benefits. Officials in area schools report that from 70-100% of their students are from AFDC families.

The increasing concentration of poverty is also evident in East Los Angeles. In January of 1982, approximately 35,912 local children received AFDC benefits. By January of 1987, the number had grown to 54,779—a 52% increase in only five years.

PART THREE: ACHIEVEMENT PATTERNS IN CALIFORNIA SCHOOLS 1984-1987

The nature of California's changing character is clear. Ethnic and low-income groups comprise an increasingly large segment of the state's population. Nowhere, however, are these changes more evident than in our educational system. Schools, especially in the lower grades, mirror—even anticipate—general demographic trends.

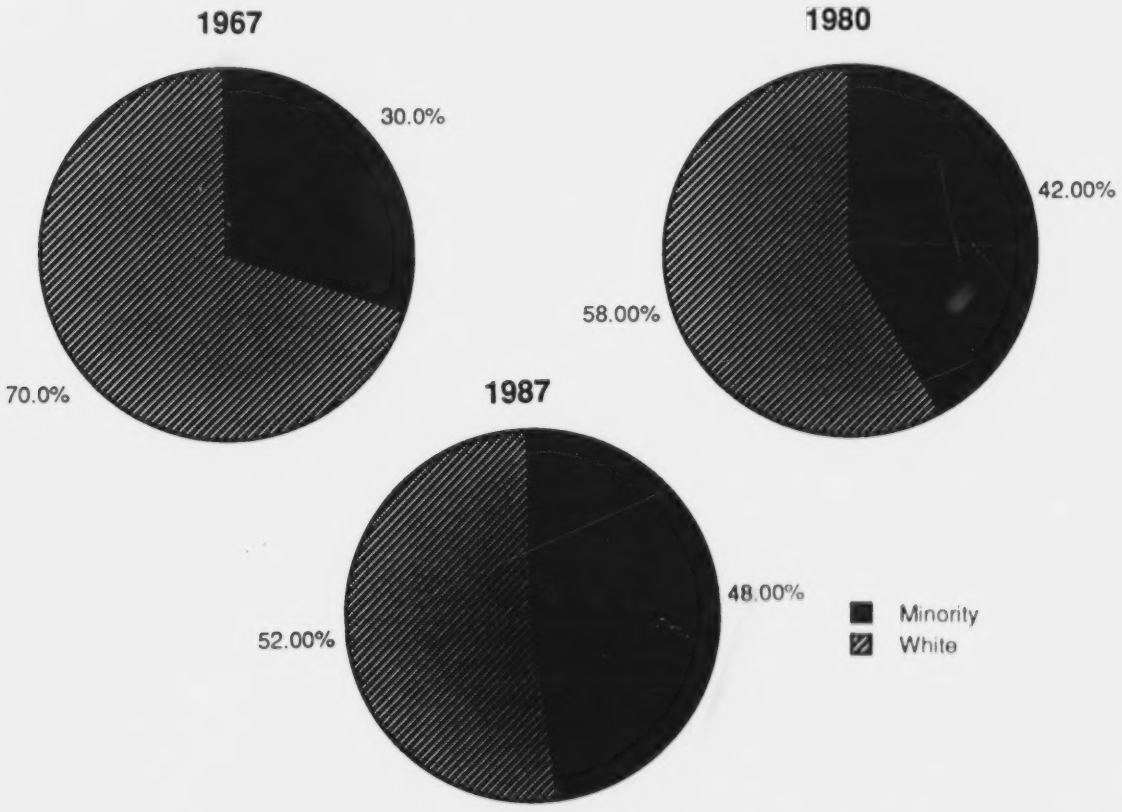
Latino, Asian, Black and American Indian students have constituted a majority of California's entering kindergarten class since 1980. By 1990, these groups will comprise a majority of all K-12 students. And the trend toward increasing diversity will continue well into the 21st Century: by 2030, Latinos will comprise 44% of California's school-age population, while fewer than one-third of that population will be non-Hispanic White.

As might be expected, the number of poor children in the public schools has increased as well. So, too, has the concentration of poverty. In some big city schools, nearly all of the students are from families receiving some sort of public assistance.

Over the past two decades, the proportion of minority youngsters attending racially isolated schools has increased steadily.

Most minority and poor youngsters are educated separately from other youngsters. Over the past two decades, the proportion of minority youngsters attending racially isolated schools has increased steadily. In 1967, 49% of California's minority students were enrolled in racially isolated schools; by 1984, approximately 70% of all minority students were enrolled in such schools. Statewide, the number of racially isolated schools increased from 987 in 1967 to 2694 in 1984.

Trend in Total Minority Enrollment, 1967-1987



Source: California State Department of Education, Sacramento, California.

In 1987, over 20% of the state's schools had enrollments that were 60% or more Latino and Black. At the same time, 44% of schools had Latino and Black enrollments of less than 20%.

Concentrations of Latino and Black Students in California Public Schools 1987

Percent Latino & Black	Elementary Schools	Middle Schools	High Schools
0-20%	1704	480	421
20-40%	942	154	170
40-60%	660	109	100
60-80%	424	78	53
80-100%	530	70	43

Source: California State Department of Education, Sacramento, California.

Let's look at how different groups of students fare academically at each level of our educational system.

ELEMENTARY STUDENTS

Many believe that the earliest years of schooling are the most crucial. Students who learn basic skills, develop effective thinking strategies, and find learning—especially reading— enjoyable, are much more likely to be high achievers in later years.

On average, the results of these early school years are looking better and better. From the seventies to the present, California's elementary age students have steadily improved their performance on standardized tests.

Between 1983 and 1987, third grade scores on the State's major achievement test—the California Assessment Program, or "CAP"—rose 20 points in reading and 18 in math. (The scale on elementary CAP tests ranges from about 100 to 400.) Increases in sixth graders' scores (7 points in reading and 8 in math) were somewhat smaller, but trends were upward nonetheless.

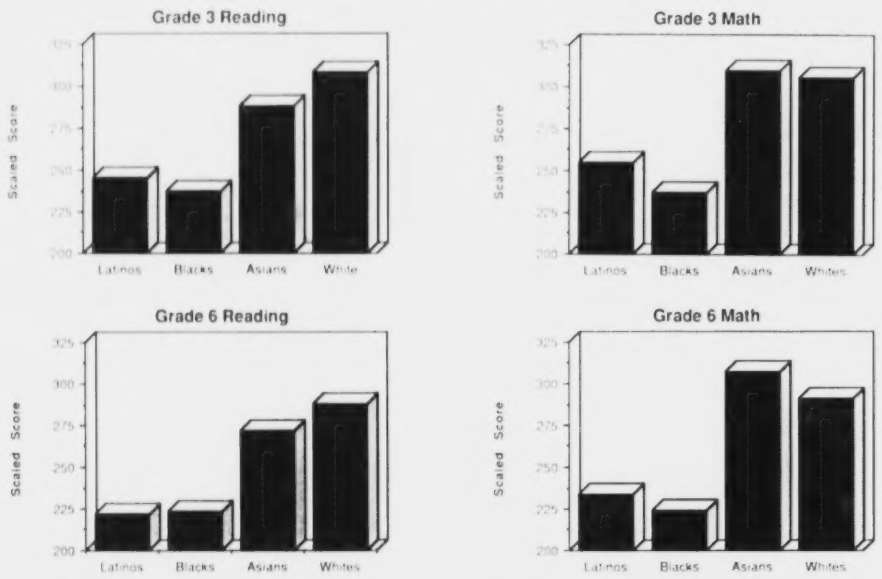
Grades 1 and 2

In the earliest grades, the basic skills tests used by many districts—the California Achievement Test (CAT) and the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills (CTBS)—show small but significant differences between ethnic and White students. In the districts we examined, including Fresno, San Jose, Oakland, Berkeley and San Diego, Latino and Black students scored an average of 20 percentile points below White students.

Grades 3 and 6

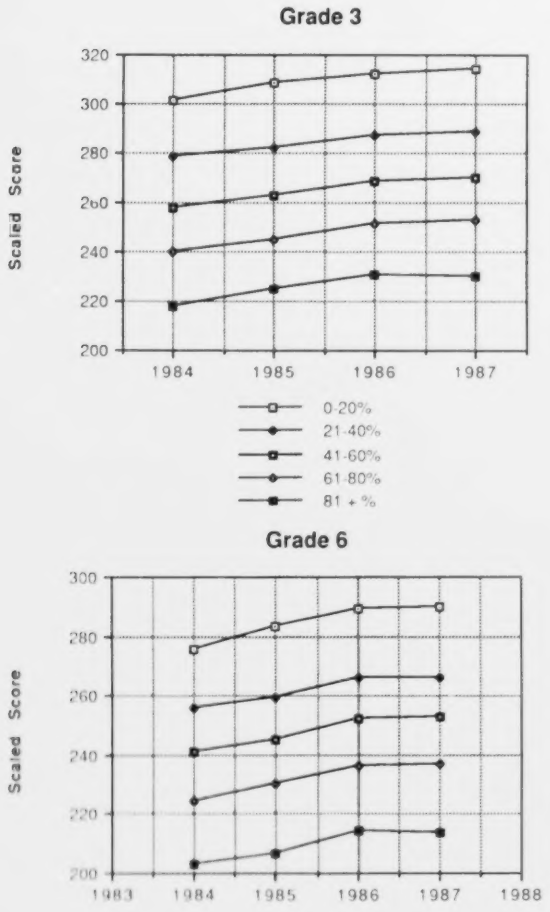
The State's CAP test, which is administered to all 3rd and 6th grade students, also shows achievement differences between ethnic and White students. In 1987, Black third graders scored 71 points below White students in reading and 69 points below in math. For Latinos, the gap was 63 points in reading and 51 points in math. As a group, Asian students scored more like White students, though somewhat lower in reading; somewhat higher in math.

CAP Scores by Ethnicity Elementary Grades, 1987



Source: California State Department of Education. Sacramento, California.

CAP Elementary Reading Score Trends
Schools by Percent Latino and Black



Source: California State Department of Education, unpublished data. Sacramento, California.

Because elementary CAP data became available by ethnicity for the first time in 1987, it is hard to say whether things have gotten better or worse for Latinos and Blacks in the last several years. However, we do know that since 1984, reading and math scores improved most in schools where Latinos and Blacks comprise less than 20% of total enrollment and improved least in schools where they comprise more than 40% of enrollments. As on other tests, students whose parents are professionals or semi-professionals scored much higher than those whose parents are unskilled or semi-skilled workers.

Many districts also administer the basic skills tests, like CAT and CTBS, at these grade levels. The gap between ethnic and White students is generally larger at the higher grade levels. While it was approximately 20 percentile points in grades 1 and 2, the gap was closer to 30 percentile points by grade 6.

What the Data Mean

What do these percentile and point differences mean? What, in short, can available test data tell us about ethnic student performance in relation to that of other students?

First, Latino and Black students are achieving about 6 months behind other students at the third grade, and about one year behind at the sixth. Despite considerable differences in the tests, data on both CAP and CTBS are consistent on this point.

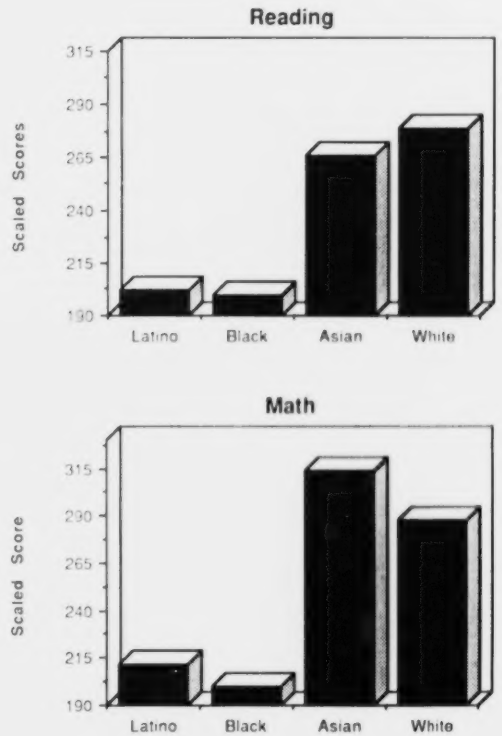
Second, as Latino and Black students progress through the grades, more and more fall into the bottom quarter of all students, while fewer and fewer achieve in the top quarter. Among Whites and Asians, the converse is true.

MIDDLE GRADE STUDENTS

Grade 8

Since 1985, reading and math achievement among California eighth graders has improved. Between 1985 and 1987 scores on CAP increased 7 points in reading and 8 in math. Latino, Black, and White students all improved in each year.

CAP Scores by Ethnicity
Grade 8, 1987



Source: California State Department of Education. Sacramento, California.

Because the increase among Latinos, Blacks, and Whites was almost identical, the gap between the two ethnic groups and White students remains unchanged. Test scores for 1987 show that Latinos are 77 points and Blacks 79 points behind Whites in reading. In math, the gap is 76 points for Latinos and 88 points for Blacks. Asians, on the other hand, made gains at more than twice the rate of the other groups, narrowing their deficit in reading and increasing their already substantial lead in math.

As in the earlier grades, students whose parents had more education scored much higher than those whose parents had less education. Test scores for 1987 show a difference of about 125 points in both reading and math between students whose parents have advanced degrees and those whose parents are not high school graduates. Between 1985 and 1987, that gap remained about the same.

Latinos and Blacks whose parents are more highly educated score higher than those whose parents have completed less education. However, the difference in test scores between the high socio-economic status (SES) and low SES students was only about half as great as among Whites and Asians, suggesting that parent education has less impact for students in these groups.

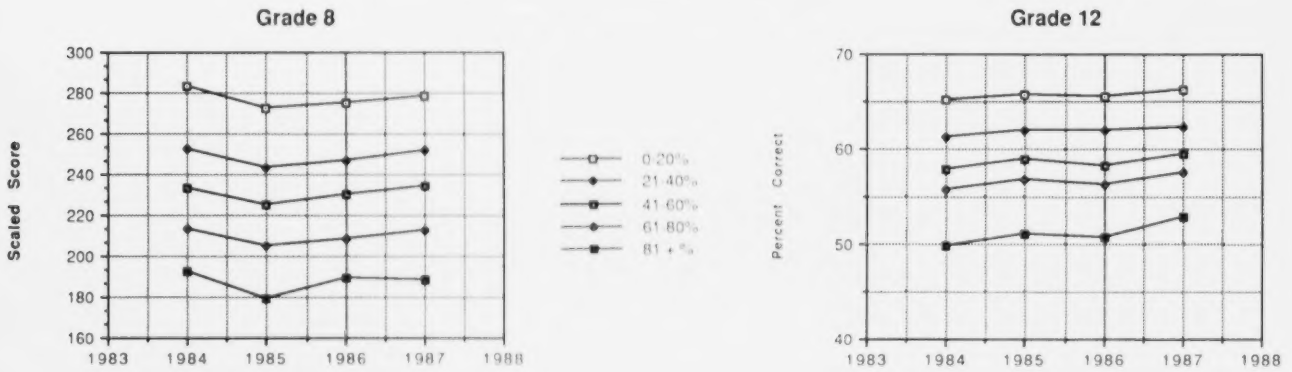
What the Data Mean

In the middle grades, achievement patterns established in the elementary school years tend to become somewhat more pronounced. Percentile differences between White and ethnic students that averaged about 20 points in grades one and two grow to a magnitude of 30 to 40 points by grade eight.

Translating the data, once again, into more readily understandable form, we see that:

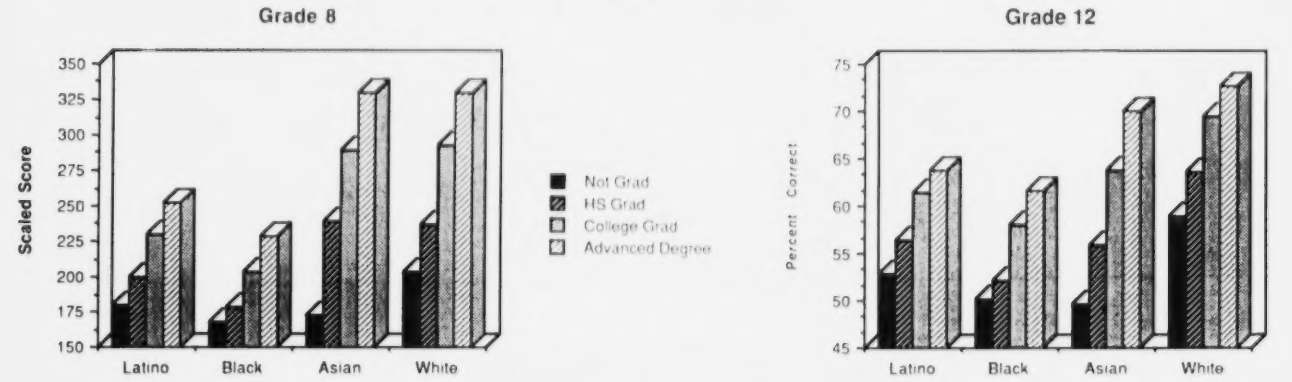
First, Latino and Black eighth graders average about two years behind White students. Only those whose parents have advanced college degrees even approach the performance levels of White students whose parents are high school graduates, and the gap has not changed appreciably over the past three years.

CAP Reading Scores
Schools by Percent Latino and Black



Source: California State Department of Education, Unpublished data, Sacramento, California.

CAP Reading Scores by Parent Education Level
Within Ethnic Group, 1987



Source: California State Department of Education, Sacramento, California.

Second, as they progress into and through the middle grades, increasing proportions of Black and Latino students score at the lowest levels and decreasing proportions score at the top. Schools serving Black and Latino students, too, are increasingly grouped toward the bottom of the statewide distribution of schools.

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

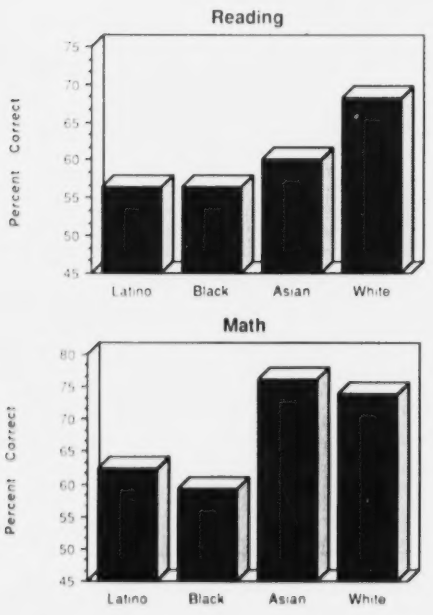
At the high school level, a wide range of achievement indicators allow for a fuller look at how students are doing academically. Beyond CAP data, information is available about the courses students take, the rate at which they complete their studies, and their eligibility for college.

Grade 12 CAP Data

Since 1983, both reading and math scores have gone up for twelfth graders as a group. Data by ethnicity, available only since 1986, show that while all groups improved, Blacks, Latinos, and Asians gained slightly more than White students.

Despite these gains, the gap between Latino and Black students and their White peers remains very large. Compared to the 1987 average 12th grade reading score of 63.6 (percent correct), Whites averaged 68.2% while Latinos and Blacks averaged only 56.5%. Thus, while White students are scoring right around the 12th grade level, Latinos and Blacks are scoring at the 9th grade level.

CAP Scores by Ethnicity
Grade 12, 1987



Source: California State Department of Education. Sacramento, California.

In math, the averages for Latino and Black students were 60.8 and 57.4, while Whites averaged 72.7% correct. These scores are equivalent to a 9th grade functional level in mathematics for the average Latino, while the average Black 12th grader functions in mathematics at about the middle of the 8th grade.

Interestingly, while Asian students in the lower grades test at levels similar to White students, the pattern at Grade 12 is different. While Asian 12th graders continue to outscore White students in mathematics, they test more like Latinos and Blacks in reading.

As at lower grade levels, 12th grade students whose parents have more education score higher on CAP. But, as also occurred with middle grade students, score differences between high and low SES students are smaller among Latinos and Blacks than among Whites or Asians.

What the Data Mean

Within the test score data a number of points stand out:

- First, what begin in the early grades as relatively small, though clearly significant, gaps between Latino and Black students and other students become, by grade 12, gaps of major educational significance: around three years.
- Second, in high schools with the largest concentration of Latino and Black students, students *graduate* with about the same skill levels as the students *entering* ninth grade in many suburban schools.
- Finally, most of the predominantly Latino or Black high schools in the state scored in the bottom 20% of all California high schools. Of the bottom 50 high schools in the state, only one has a large enrollment of White students.

. . . what begin in the early grades as relatively small, though clearly significant, gaps between Latino and Black students and other students become, by grade 12, gaps of major educational significance: around three years.

High School Graduation

Twelfth grade test score data make clear the serious nature of the education gap experienced by many Latino and Black students. The situation becomes even more worrisome, however, when we realize that many students have already left school by 12th grade and that most of those who leave are low achievers.

The dropout problem has been of concern to educators and policymakers for many years, during which time a good deal of attention has been focused on how to define and count dropouts. Some argue that attrition data, wherein the number of students entering

tenth grade one year is contrasted with the number graduating two and one-half years later, are the best way to estimate dropouts for the state as a whole. Others prefer to aggregate data kept by individual schools on the number of their students who leave without giving an educational destination.

Attrition
Grade 10 through High School Graduation

	Class of 84	Class of 87
Latino	43%	45%
Black	43%	48%
Asian	15%	17%
White	25%	27%

Source: California State Department of Education, Sacramento, California.

In our view, attrition estimates are the most accurate indicator for the state as a whole. We let the numbers speak for themselves:

- In 1984-85, 352,756 tenth graders were enrolled in California public schools.
- In 1986-87, only 237,414 students graduated.
- In that two-year period, 115,342 students left the school system and did not graduate.

This results in an attrition rate of 32.7%. In our judgment, this is a reasonable, perhaps even conservative, estimate. It neither takes into consideration students leaving for reasons of illness, death, or outmigration, nor does it figure in the larger in-migration figure which more than cancels out the former. Further, it counts only students leaving school after grade 10, although many leave before. By comparison, though, the official dropout figures for California were 26% in 1984 and 22% in 1987.

Sadly, though, even the 32.7% attrition rate pales by comparison to the rates at which our schools lose certain groups of young people. In 1987, while 17% of Asians and 27% of Whites dropped out, 45% of Latinos and 48% of Blacks dropped out. From one in three for the group as a whole, we go to one in two Latino and Black students. Every other one lost from the educational system.

In 1987, while 17% of Asians and 27% of Whites dropped out, 45% of Latinos and 48% of Blacks dropped out.

Unfortunately, available data suggest that attrition has increased steadily since at least 1981-82, when the rate for all students was 29.8%. Recent increases in attrition among Black students are especially troubling. The Black attrition rate increased from 43% for the class of '84 to 48% for the Class of '87. Latino attrition increased from 43 to 45%, White attrition from 25 to 27%, and Asian attrition from 15 to 17%.

When are most students dropping out? Those that leave school during their high school years usually do so in the 11th grade. Regardless of ethnic background, students who enter 12th grade generally go on to graduate.

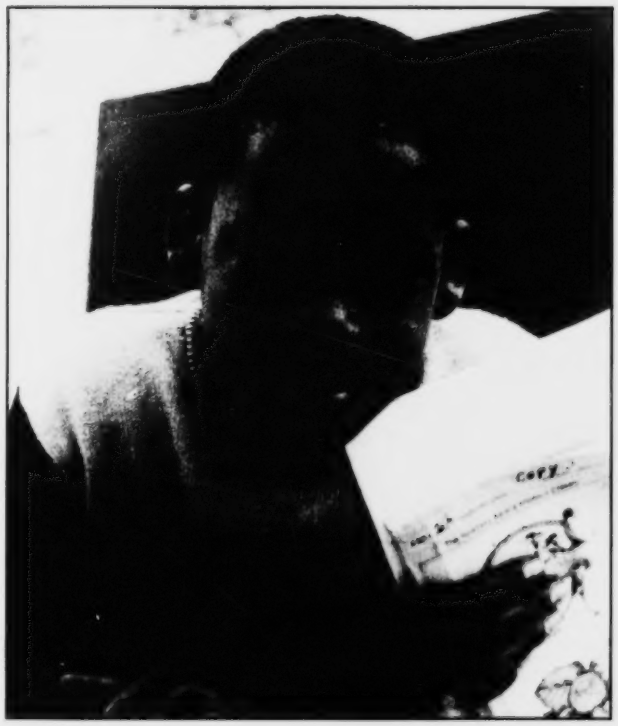
Preparation for College

At the other end of the achievement scale is preparation for college. In this section we look at three measures of preparation for college—grades, course enrollments, and performance on college admissions tests—and at how these translate into eligibility for college.

Grades

While data on grade point averages are not routinely collected on a statewide basis, several data sources suggest striking differences between White and Asian students, on the one hand, and Black and Latino students, on the other.

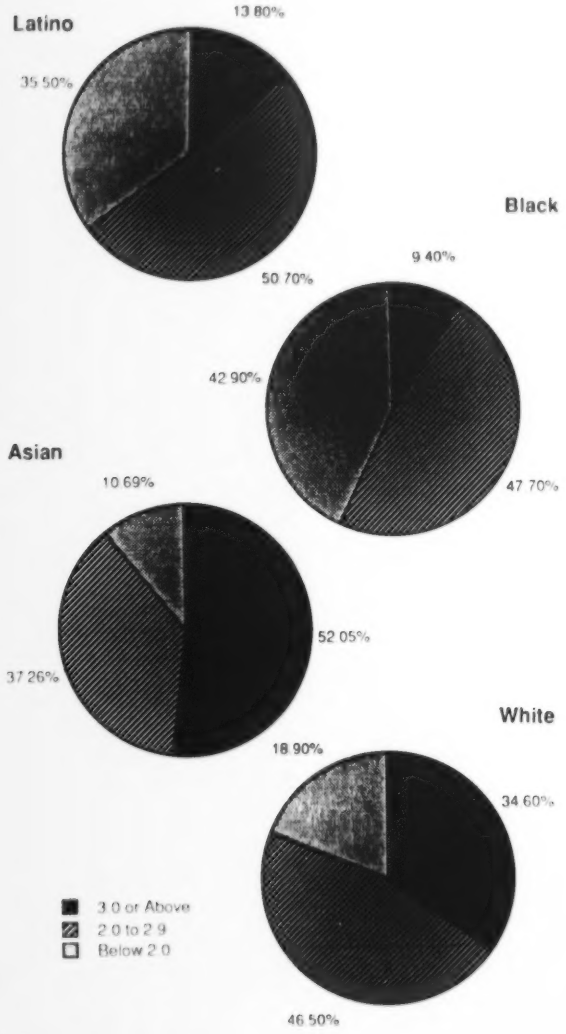
Based upon a comprehensive review of the transcripts of 1986 graduates from all ethnic groups, the California Postsecondary Education Commission recently concluded that disproportionately high numbers of Black and Latino students were ineligible to enter four-year colleges because they had grade point averages below 2.0. Only 5.8% of Asian graduates and 14.1% of White graduates had cumulative grade averages below 2.0. Among Latino graduates, 22.3% had averages below 2.0; among Black graduates, almost one-third had such averages.



Many lower performing students have dropped out prior to graduation. While data on grades are not collected statewide, a few examples indicate the magnitude of the problem:

- In Oakland, 81% of Latino and 75% of Black high school juniors had grade point averages below 2.0 in 1986.
- In San Diego, 53% of Black and 45% of Latino 1986 high school juniors had cumulative grade point averages below 2.0. Of the senior class, over one-third of the White students and over half of the Asian students had grade averages above 3.0; among Latinos and Blacks, the proportions of students with grade averages above 3.0 were 13.8% and 9.4% respectively.

Cumulative Grade Point Averages
High School Seniors, San Diego Unified



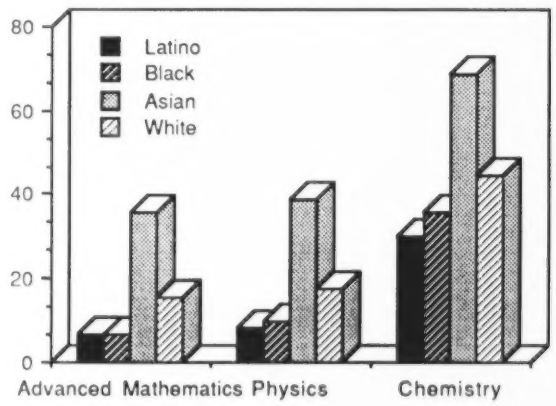
Source: San Diego Unified School District, Community Relations and Integration Services Division.

- In Los Angeles County, fewer than 10% of Black eighth graders have grade averages above 3.0.

Course Enrollments

Data on course enrollments over the past five years show a decline in enrollments in non-academic courses, while enrollments in college preparatory courses have soared. Although available data point to increases in most courses for all groups, Latinos and Blacks are still severely underrepresented in high level courses. In advanced math and physics courses, for example, they were less than half as likely as Whites to be enrolled. Asians, on the other hand, were enrolled at higher rates.

Course Enrollments, 1986/87



Source: California State Department of Education. Sacramento, California.

Interestingly, while enrollments in college preparatory subjects have increased, these increases do not appear to have been accompanied by increases in the number of students completing the full set of courses—called A-F courses—required for admission to the University of California (and, increasingly to the State University). Although the picture is complicated by the fact that course requirements changed during this period, fewer students completed the full sequence in 1986 than in 1983, with the declines greater among Black students than any other group.

As is true with other indicators of academic achievement, students whose parents are highly educated are more likely to enroll in college preparatory courses. A recent PACE study found that schools where parents were not well educated graduated fewer students meeting the University of California's course requirements than schools with the highest parent education levels.

In a very special category of advanced courses—Advanced Placement (AP) classes, which are college-level courses taught in high school—the same pattern held true. Since 1983, participation in AP increased tremendously among students of all ethnic groups. However, both Latinos and Blacks continue to partici-

pate at levels far below other students. In 1987, Whites were almost four times as likely as Blacks and around three times as likely as Latinos to be enrolled in AP.

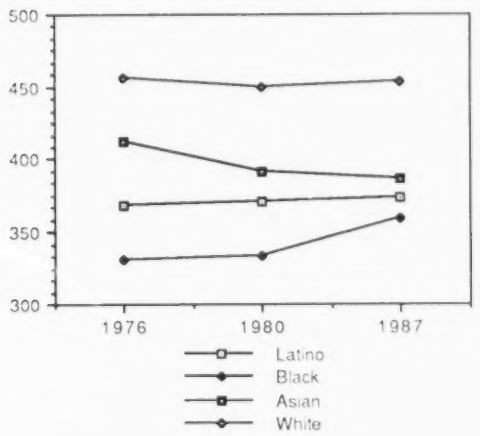
College Admissions Tests

Test-taking among California seniors has gone up steadily in the last several years. Where 37% of California seniors took the College Board's Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) in 1983, about 47% did so in 1987. Test-taking increased among all ethnic groups except Latinos, whose test-taking rates fell. By 1987, 44% of White seniors and 89% of Asian seniors were taking the test, while 34% of Blacks and only 14% of Latinos were doing so.

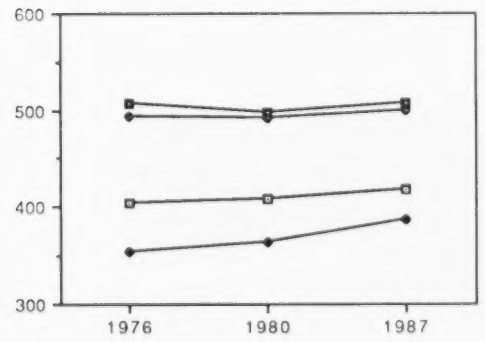
SAT scores went up for all groups between 1983 and 1987. Blacks registered greater increases than any other group; Latinos registered the smallest increases. In both cases, though, the gap between these students and other students remains very large. In 1987, Black students in California scored 94 points below Whites on the Verbal section of the test and 111 points below on the Math section. (The range for the SAT is 200-800 for each section.) The gap between White and Latino scores for the same year is also large: 79 points on Verbal and 80 on Math.

SAT Score Gap
1976-1987

Verbal



Math



Source: The College Board.

College Eligibility

Students wishing to attend a four-year public university must meet certain admissions requirements. Those who choose the University of California (UC) must complete certain courses with a specified grade average and take a college admissions test: on the combination of these measures, they must rank in the top 12½ percent of graduating seniors. The California State University System (CSU) also has course, grade and test requirements: students there must rank in the upper 33⅓ percent of seniors. Both institutions tightened up their admissions requirements between 1983 and 1986.

In 1986, about one-third of Asian high school graduates met UC requirements, while about one-half were eligible to enter CSU. White graduates were the next highest group, with about one out of six eligible for UC and one out of three eligible for CSU. At the other end of the scale, only one out of 22 Black graduates were eligible for UC and one out of nine for CSU. Rates among Latinos were almost as low: one in twenty for UC and about one in eight for CSU.

Between 1983 and 1986, the overall four-year college eligibility rate declined. There were differences among the groups, however. Asians and Blacks gained slightly, while Latinos and Whites declined slightly.

College Eligibility Rates
1983 and 1986 Graduates

	% Grads Eligible for UC		% Grads Eligible for CSU	
	1983	1986	1983	1986
Latino	4.9	5.0	15.3	13.3
Black	3.6	4.5	10.1	10.8
Asian	26.0	32.8	49.0	50.0
White	15.5	15.8	33.5	31.6

Note: There were some changes in admissions requirements between 1983 and 1986.

Source: California Postsecondary Education Commission

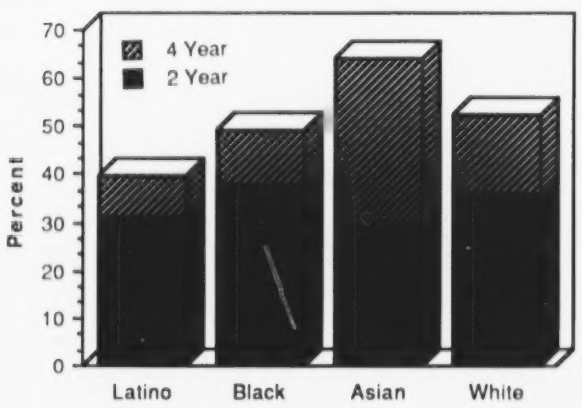
College Students

College-Going

Statewide, college-going rates for California's public universities have increased steadily since the early 1980s. Rates among ethnic groups, however, vary rather dramatically. For example, while only 3.5% of Latino high school graduates enroll in the University of California, 17.8% of Asians do so. Among White graduates, 9.4% go on to the California State University, compared to 5.4% of Latinos.

A review of college-going rates for the three public segments of higher education (UC, CSU, and the California Community Colleges) reveals that while Latinos are enrolling in California's public colleges and universities in ever-increasing numbers, they continue to be the most underrepresented group on public campuses. The California Postsecondary Education Commission (CPEC) reports 1986 college-going rates that ranged from a low of 39.9% among Latinos, to a high of 64.2% among Asians, with Blacks and Whites in between at 49.4% and 52.5%.

Public College-Going Rates, 1986 HS Graduates



Source: "California College-Going Rates 1986 Update." California Postsecondary Education Commission. Sacramento, California.

Distribution and Transfer

Despite recent concerns about low transfer rates, the number of students transferring from community colleges to four-year institutions remained essentially stable over the past five years. In each of those years, approximately 5,000 community college students transferred to UC, while approximately 45,000 transferred to CSU. During the eighties, Black representation in the transfer population headed generally upward between 1980 and 1983, then declined to about 4% at UC and about 5.5% at CSU. Between 1980 and 1986, Latinos increased their representation in the transfer population at UC from 7 to 10% but stayed about the same, about 10%, at CSU.

Students do not enroll in the three public higher education systems at the same rate. About two-thirds of all 1986 freshmen attended two-year institutions. Two-year college enrollments, however, were highest among Latino (78%) and Black (77%) freshmen, and lowest among Asian (46%) and White (69%) freshmen.

Persistence to the Degree

Many students who enter California's four-year colleges and universities never earn their degrees. At the University of California, about 60% of entering freshmen graduate within five years, but persistence rates vary considerably among the ethnic groups. Asian students have the highest rate of degree acquisition within five years at 66%, followed by Whites at 60%. From there, rates drop. Among Latino students, approximately 42% graduate within five years; among Black students, the graduation rate is 40%.

The California State University also reports considerable variation in persistence rates. About one-third of White and Asian regularly admitted students complete their baccalaureate work within five years. Among Black regular admits, the degree completion rate is 18%, while among Latinos it is 19%.

In 1986, the most recent year for which data are available, Black students received 3.4% of the bachelors degrees awarded to domestic students, while Latinos received 6.7%. For Blacks, this represented a decline since 1982; for Latinos, a small increase. Once again, however, the increase among Latinos did not keep pace with changes in the youth population, resulting in greater underrepresentation of Latinos and Blacks among 1986 degree recipients than in 1980.

PART FOUR:
THE ROOTS OF UNDERACHIEVEMENT

One of the most persistent myths in American education suggests that although all youngsters are taught basically the same things, minority and poor youngsters somehow manage to learn less. The low test scores and high school graduation rates described on the previous pages are thus seen as a manifestation of some problem inherent in the students or their families, rather than as a sign that something is wrong in the school system.

The facts, however, are quite different. Into the education of poor and minority children, we put less of everything we believe makes a difference. Less experienced and well-trained teachers. Less instructional time. Less rich and well-balanced curricula. Less well-equipped facilities. And less of what may be most important of all: a belief that these youngsters can really learn.

This is compounded by the fact that some communities have less, too. Less knowledge about how the educational system works. Less ability to help with homework. Less money to finance educational extras. Less stability in the neighborhood. Fewer models of success. And hopes and dreams that are too often crushed by harsh economic conditions.

It's no small wonder, then, that certain groups of children do less well in school than others. Let us examine two primary forces on student performance—schools and communities.

SCHOOLS

Of the hundreds of people and events that shape our lives, those associated with schools are among the most powerful. From age five to young adulthood, schools "hold" us for the greater part of the day. Our grasp of some of the basic tools of living—reading, writing and arithmetic—our ability to understand the more complex aspects of our world, and our feelings about literature and art, are all brought about, to a significant degree, in school. Perhaps most important, some of our most enduring notions of ourselves and our abilities are developed during the hours we spend at school.

What are those hours like for students? Are the experiences of Latino and Black students qualitatively different from those of other students? In examining these questions, we look at some of the most critical aspects of the schooling experience:

- *curriculum*—what students learn and how they are grouped into classes;
- *teachers and administrators*—who teaches in and manages schools;
- *support services*—how students get help with personal problems and college information;
- *expectations*—how students are expected to act, and what they're expected to learn; and
- *facilities*—what schools look like and how they're equipped.

During the last few years, numerous studies of what is taught in American schools have concluded that minority and poor youngsters are taught much less than other youngsters.

WHAT IS TAUGHT: THE CURRICULUM

During the last few years, numerous studies of what is taught in American schools have concluded that minority and poor youngsters are taught much less than other youngsters. This happens primarily in two ways:

- differences between schools, primarily as a result of school-level curricular decisions; and
- differences within schools, primarily as a result of grouping and tracking of students by perceived ability levels.

Differences Between Schools: School and District Curricular Choices

State and national tests have a good deal of influence on what is taught in our public schools. So, too, do curriculum guides issued by the state. But California has a long history of district and school control over what is taught in individual schools and districts.

While there is often much discussion about the positive aspects of local control, little attention is paid to the negative aspects. Among these is the fact that flexibility is often exercised in ways that enrich the curriculum for youngsters from well-to-do families and water it down for poor and minority youngsters.

At the elementary level, local choice often results in minority students being exposed to less demanding books and assignments, and the lowest-level concepts and skills. Rather than books, they get dittos.

At the junior and senior high school level, course offerings in suburban high schools tend to be characterized by great depth in college preparatory courses. Conversely, in inner city schools, the curriculum is heavily lopsided, in the direction of "general" or "vocational" offerings. The few college preparatory courses offered in such schools often cover fewer and lower-level concepts and skills than parallel courses in suburban schools.

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Through the exercise of local control, then, some children win and some children lose. Most of those who win are from relatively well-off families. Most of those who lose are poor, and Latino or Black.

Differences Within Schools: Ability Grouping and Tracking

Most California schools have grouped students for instructional purposes for many years. Though the practice is well known, its effects on what students learn are not.

The typical procedure for assigning students to a group is quite simple: within a few days of a student's entry into kindergarten or first grade, a teacher makes a decision about whether that student is a fast or slow learner. Based upon that decision, the student is assigned to the fast group or the slow group.

In the ensuing months and years, students in the fast group are pushed ahead quickly; students in the slow group move hardly at all. Those in the fast group are exposed early and continuously to higher order concepts—they discuss ideas, write about their thoughts, and read *books*. For those in the slow group, everything is broken down into tiny "manageable" bits with no inherent interest value. In the first and second grades, these students spend more time in endless exercises circling letters on worksheets than reading books.

By the time they reach second or third grade, youngsters assigned to these low groups have learned some enduring lessons: school is boring, and teachers don't think kids like me can do much.

Most educators group students because they believe it works. They think it is the only way to keep bright students stimulated, and protect slower students from embarrassment. They believe that homogeneous grouping allows them to tailor instruction to student needs. But the evidence suggests just the opposite. Bright students do about the same whether in heterogenous or homogeneous groups; middle and low-ability students do much better in heterogeneous groups.

The process of grouping and tracking by perceived ability level, then, has negative effects for the majority of young Californians. For minority and poor youngsters, the effects are even more pronounced . . .

The process of grouping and tracking by perceived ability level, then, has negative effects for the majority of young Californians. For minority and poor youngsters, the effects are even more pronounced, because they are more likely to be placed in the lower tracks, and because even the upper tracks in many predominantly minority schools have been watered down. The tracking system separates these students not only from other youngsters, but also from access to a common base of knowledge.

Those Who Teach In—and Manage—Predominantly Minority Schools

Today's classrooms contain an array of challenges that simply did not exist thirty years ago. Students in the eighties are more likely to have alcohol and drug-related problems and less likely to have mastered prerequisite skills than their predecessors. They are also more likely to be from families in which both parents work.

The challenges in predominantly minority schools are even more complex. Linguistic diversity is increasing dramatically. Neighborhood poverty is growing by leaps and bounds. Parents are overwhelmed by deteriorating economic circumstances. Families are forced to move frequently, often to several schools in a single year.

Together, these circumstances pose a considerable challenge to those who teach in and manage predominantly minority schools. They suggest a need for great depth, both in training and in conviction.

Teachers

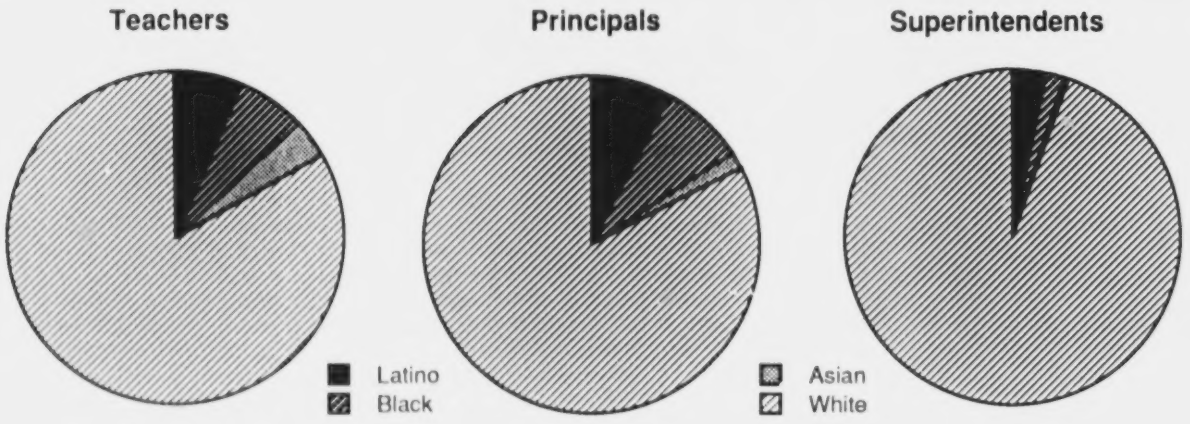
Available data suggest, however, that those who teach in predominantly minority schools have less experience and less education that those who teach in the suburbs. Rather than being staffed by our most experienced and able teachers, predominantly minority schools tend to be staffed, disproportionately, by:

- teachers with 0-3 years experience;
- teachers holding emergency credentials;
- long- and short-term substitutes; and
- teachers teaching out of their fields.

Do these teachers care less about their students than more experienced or educated teachers? No. We believe that many care even more. But they teach as they were taught to teach and most of the teachers were not well prepared for the challenges in minority schools. Furthermore, because few school systems have developed systems for advising and supporting new teachers, they experience a frustrating and dispiriting cycle of failure, leading to lower expectations for themselves and their students.

There are, of course, many excellent teachers in predominantly minority schools; teachers whose love of children and command of both subject matter and technique produce wonderful results. But many of these teachers soon grow tired of the challenges often present in historically low-performing schools.

Public School Teachers and Administrators
1985



Source: "Racial and Ethnic Survey of Students and Staff," California State Department Department of Education. Sacramento, California.

Great teachers come in all colors: one does not have to be minority to do a good job with minority children. But the current imbalance between teachers and students—17% of teachers are minority, while 49% of students are—can have a negative effect on minority students' beliefs about what is possible for them. Unfortunately, there is little prospect for change in the near future. Of all credential candidates in California colleges, only 2.7% are Black and only 7.2% Latino.

Great teachers come in all colors: one does not have to be minority to do a good job with minority children.

Administrators

Administrators in predominantly minority schools report that they, too, were not well prepared for the challenges of leadership. Most were trained in part-time administrative credential programs, taking one or two classes per year while working full time as teachers.

In their administrative credential classes, these future principals learned about personnel management and school law. They also learned how to conduct a teacher observation. But they did not learn how to help teachers and other staff members respond to the challenges in poor and minority schools, or how to help traditionally low achieving youngsters do better. Perhaps most important, they did not learn how to lead an historically low-performing school to the highest achievement levels.

Some manage to find their own way. For them, the leadership necessary to bring about change comes naturally. For countless others, however, it doesn't come at all. Too many schools do not have the strong and determined leadership they need to move ahead. Without that leadership, it is often difficult for teachers and counselors to believe that change is possible.

At the district level, as well, too few superintendents and other managers talk about school change and the steps necessary to make it happen. Principals of successful predominantly minority schools often report that their schools progressed *in spite of*, rather than because of district support. There are, of course, exceptions: exceptions which prove that support and flexibility from the district level can be crucial to the process of improving a school. But the exceptions are few and far between.

Principals of successful predominantly minority schools often report that their schools progressed* in spite of, *rather than because of district support.

As with teachers, there is an ethnic imbalance among administrators. Approximately 93% of superintendents are White and, while there has been progress at the principal level, Latinos continue to be especially underrepresented in these positions.

Support Services

Over the past few years, many districts have cut back on student services, including college advising, job counseling, and nursing and psychological services. Schools that used to have full-time nurses now must make do with one-half day per week; counselors that used to advise 250 students now have case loads from 450 to 750.

These cuts are hard on students in any community. But they are especially difficult in low-income com-

munities, where parents often do not know about college admissions requirements and procedures, where health care services are inadequate, and where children are often exposed to harsh conditions. Unfortunately, many districts serving these communities have had to cut back even further than the norm.

Expectations

When individuals who are successful in one arena or another are asked what most influenced their development, many answer that it was "someone who believed in me—really made *me* believe that I was smart and that I could do it." For many, that person was a teacher who not only believed that the individual could learn, but who backed up that belief with high standards and the extra help needed to meet them.

There are many caring teachers who make a big difference in the lives of individual students. But for the majority of poor Black or Latino students, the orientation of the principal and of many teachers and counselors is not one of concern or of high standards. Instead, low expectations are conveyed in hundreds of different ways.

It often starts with the assignment of students to slow or fast reading groups and in the accompanying books or materials provided students. Expectations then show themselves in the ways teachers interact with students in the classroom— questioning and expecting some students to think and provide answers, while putting more effort into managing the behavior of others.

Low expectations are also reflected when late papers or missed tests are excused too easily, or when "A"s are given for what would be considered "C" level work elsewhere. They show themselves, too, in the failure to assign homework because "no one ever turns it in anyway."

Many school people are quick to excuse low student performance because "Given the kids we've got to work with, it's as much as can be expected." Some of them arrive at such conclusions because of rigid race- or class-based stereotypes. Others do so out of genuine care and concern, because they know that many students have difficult home circumstances and realize how very difficult it can be for many to concentrate fully on their studies. Still others lower their expectations simply to protect themselves from constant defeats.

. . . students do about as well as they are expected to do. When more is expected, they deliver more; when less is expected, they deliver that, too.

Regardless of the reasoning behind them, these low expectations have devastating consequences for students do about as well as they are expected to do. When more is expected, they deliver more; when less is expected, they deliver that, too. Real help must be linked with high expectations. But the importance of the expectations themselves cannot be overstated.

Facilities and Equipment

All minority youngsters do not attend school in aged and dilapidated facilities. Neither do all Whites attend school in well-equipped suburban education palaces. But the tendencies are inescapable: poor and minority youngsters are far more likely to be educated in overcrowded, poorly-equipped, rundown facilities than their non-minority peers.

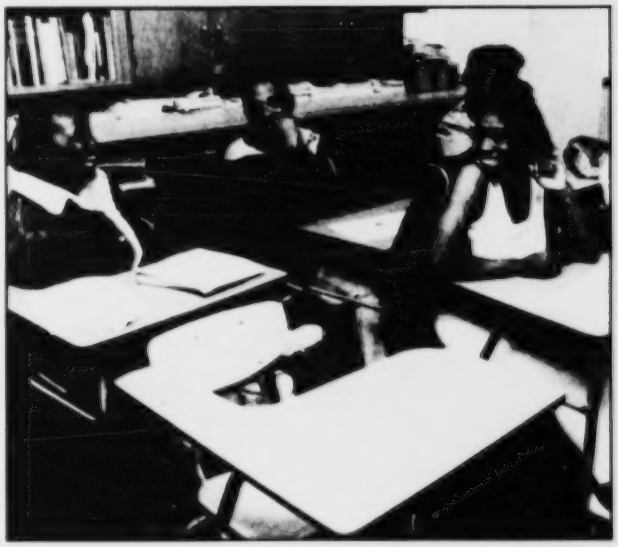
In Los Angeles, for example, schools in the predominantly Latino East Side have been operating at more than 150% of capacity for years. Facilities are stretched way beyond the limits under which they were built. Across town, in predominantly Black South Central Los Angeles, many schools look like jails, on both the inside and the outside.

True, a good education can be had in an old school house, as can a poor education in a brand new facility. But crowded and dingy facilities are not conducive to achievement. Poorly equipped labs do not facilitate scientific experimentation. Near-empty library shelves do not foster love of books and reading. And all of these send both students and staff a similar message: you are not important.

FAMILIES AND COMMUNITIES

It is hard to find a good point at which to define and separate the roles and power of families and communities from those of schools. As surely as our families help forge our sense of ourselves in the world and of the world around us, schools, too, influence to a great degree how we define ourselves and that world.

Families traditionally have had the task of instilling values and setting up rules governing behavior. However, as our notion of the family changes and as the pressures on families grow, even these roles are being taken on increasingly by schools. And yet, despite this merging of roles, there can be no doubt of the enormous influence families and communities have on children.



No one fully understands all the ways in which parents and communities transmit school-related advantages and disadvantages to children. But while our understanding may not be complete, clear patterns of advantage and disadvantage exist: on average, the children of parents who are economically comfortable and well-educated are more likely to be high achieving and college bound. By contrast, children of poor parents with low education levels are more likely to achieve at low levels.

Let's look at a number of factors associated with educational advantage and disadvantage.

Aspirations and Parent Education Levels

Well-educated parents do not have a monopoly on aspirations for their children. Study after study has documented the fact that virtually all parents want the same thing for their children: a college education and a happy, productive life.

But when it comes to translating these aspirations into day-to-day practices, well-educated parents have an advantage: they know what makes a difference. They know school rules and procedures. They know it makes a difference to visit their children's schools regularly, and to monitor their children's progress closely. And they know college admissions policies and procedures, and how to advise their children accordingly.

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Less well educated parents don't always know these things. So, while their aspirations for their youngsters may be high, they don't understand the ways in which schools function, they don't visit schools regularly, and they have to entrust the guidance of their youngsters to others. Further, while school staffs may want to welcome these parents into the school, they frequently feel unprepared to communicate with poorly educated parents.

These patterns are especially significant in view of markedly different educational levels among California's major ethnic groups. In 1987, for example, 50% of White high school seniors reported that their parents possessed at least a Bachelor's Degree, while 35% of Black seniors and only 14% of Latino seniors could claim similar advantage. At the other end of the scale, only 3% of White seniors reported that their parents had not graduated from high school. The comparable figure for Latinos was 42%, and for Blacks, 5%.

Parental Education by Ethnic Group
Reported by California High School Seniors
1986

	Latino	Black	Asian	White
Non High School Grad	42	5	19	3
High School Grad	25	22	19	17
Some College	18	34	17	28
College Grad	9	23	26	28
Advanced Degree	5	12	17	22

Economic Circumstances

These days, it's hard for most parents to devote a lot of attention to their children's education. But it is especially hard for low-income parents, for whom the last few years have been unbelievably harsh. While others around them prospered, these families lost economic ground. Median annual income for a family of four among the bottom one-fifth of California families fell to a miserable $8900. Many families are surviving on incomes of less than $5000.

These days, it's hard for most parents to devote a lot of attention to their children's education. But it is especially hard for low-income parents, for whom the last few years have been unbelievably harsh.

The effects of this kind of poverty can crush the spirit and blot out any hope of escape. Such circumstances can make it almost impossible to be optimistic about the future or to convey to children a belief that they can overcome the obstacles to "making it."

Also, although schooling may continue to be an important ideal, working to help support the family may assume a higher priority. This sense of responsibility to family often produces real conflicts for students. It helps to explain both why so many succumb to the pressure to drop out of school and why so many who could continue academically fail to enter or complete college.

Neighborhood Conditions

The effects of poverty are exacerbated in many of our inner cities where it is increasingly hard to find anyone but the very poor. Many middle class Blacks and Latinos have left these areas for the suburbs, leaving behind neighborhoods housing only the poor.

In block after block, there are few models of success. Many have stopped even looking for work. Traditional support mechanisms, like churches and civic groups, find their support base eroded; many disappear.

Many community members become overwhelmed by a pervasive sense of hopelessness. They are surrounded by crime and are afraid to leave their homes at night.

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Mobility Rates

Families at the bottom of the economic ladder move around a great deal. Typically these moves do not cover long distances: most frequently, the new residence is within a few miles of the old one. But they can occur as often as two or three times a year.

Nobody is quite sure what is behind all of this. The consensus seems to focus on the apparent failure of our "safety net" for low-income families. Affordable housing is not plentiful in our big cities, thus families at the bottom of the ladder tend to move from one apartment to another: into one set of projects, then another; from one relative's house to another, often just one step ahead of the bill collector.

Although these moves are often just a few miles or less, they usually mean that children must change schools. Sometimes the schools are within the same district; other times they are not. Because no two classes are ever in quite the same place, such moves can cause tremendous disruptions in the education of children. They also tend to make it difficult for the child to identify with a school or teacher, or for a teacher to feel any connection to the student.

Peer Influences

Recently, researchers have documented a troubling tendency among Black and Latino young people to characterize high achievers as "acting White." Blacks and Latinos who are successful in school thus often try to hide that fact from their peers; others, however gifted, simply do not put forth the effort necessary to fulfill their potential.

During the adolescent years, when peer influences can surpass all others in importance, these pressures can overcome even the strongest support from parents. And, while being "smart" isn't always considered the best thing to be in any ethnic group, among Whites and Asians it is at least not considered a sign of disloyalty to the group.

PART FIVE: SCHOOLS ON THE MOVE

The picture we have painted of education for minority and poor youngsters in California is both depressing and frightening. Even the most optimistic among us can't help but be discouraged by the very slow pace of progress in reducing the achievement gap, especially after the many special programs and dollars that have been invested in schooling for minority students.

Some may be tempted to wonder whether there is not something inherently wrong with these kids. They may conclude that, if no schools are getting first-rate achievement from Latino and Black students, then none can.

We disagree strongly. We have been convinced that schools can make a difference by the many elementary, middle, and high schools across the state that are doing just that. They expect more from their Latino and Black students—and they get it. Some of these are urban schools; some rural. Some are virtually 100% Black or Latino; others have fairly large numbers of Whites or Asians. None is perfect, but all are moving up and look considerably better than most schools serving minority students.

While each of these "schools on the move" is unique, we've found that they share common characteristics. Foremost among these is a belief that all students can learn—a deep conviction that, by working together, administrators and teachers can eradicate the historic link between academic performance and student body composition.

Sometimes these attitudes, and the practices associated with them, take hold slowly. The process of improving a school is a complicated one, and often takes many years. But the steps of the process—beginning with self-study and continuing through development of an action plan—are fairly straightforward and are within the capabilities of most educators. If followed, they will virtually always result in improved achievement.

Where are these schools on the move and how are they making a difference for their students? In this section, we list some of the schools and profile three, providing a bit more detail about how they work and what makes them special.

Characteristics of Improving Schools

- **Determined Principal.** In each of the schools, the principal is absolutely committed to change. Though styles vary, each principal expects great things from students as well as staff.
- **Demanding Teachers.** Teachers in improving schools have high expectations for student achievement and demand much more from their students than do teachers elsewhere. They believe, too, that they're an essential part of the leadership team working toward school improvement.
- **Rigorous Core Curriculum.** Most students in schools on the move are channeled through an academically rigorous core curriculum. Although it doesn't happen overnight, unnecessary curricular diversions are being eliminated.
- **Parents as Partners.** Schools on the move tend to have strong links with the communities they serve: teachers and administrators have been convinced by experience that students perform better in school when their parents have been made full partners in the learning process.
- **Support for Students.** Improving schools push their students to take on difficult academic tasks, but they provide them with the support—academic and moral—they need to be successful.
- **Teamwork.** Schools that work generally do so because they have succeeded in creating a "can do" atmosphere: an atmosphere where administrators, teachers, students, and parents work cooperatively to address and solve problems.

Predominantly Minority Schools Making the Largest Gains on CAP

At every grade level, a number of predominantly minority schools stand out from the crowd. Their gains on CAP since 1984 are not only greater than the average gain for all California schools, but among the highest in the state. The biggest gaining Latino and Black schools are listed by grade level below.

The grade 12 group is worthy of special note. In 1983, the staffs and students of 58 California high schools woke up to headlines that they were among the state's "worst." Some of those schools were paralyzed by the controversy and remain incapacitated to this day. But 12 have achieved big gains. Their names are starred on our list.

Grade Three

Marshall (Oakland)
Toler Heights (Oakland)
M. L. King, Jr. (Oakland)
Marshall (Fowler)
Biola-Pershing (Central)
Geddes (Baldwin Park)
Tracy (Baldwin Park)
Albion Street (Los Angeles—L.A.)
Queen Anne Place (L.A.)
Bell Gardens (Montebello)
McKibben (South Whittier)
Graves (Graves)
Lincoln (Anaheim)
John Kelley (Coachella Valley)
John Bidwell (Sacramento City)
Southside (Southside)
Laurel (Oceanside)
Washington (Lodi)
Grand View (Dinuba)
Kings River (Kings River)
Harrington (Oxnard)
El Rancho (Pleasant Valley)

Grade Six

Longfellow (Oakland)
Melrose (Oakland)
Verde (Richmond)
Jefferson (Bakersfield)
Magnolia (Azusa)
Wilkerson (El Monte)
Westside (Imperial)
Lorena Street (L.A.)
Melrose Avenue (L.A.)
Playa Del Rey (L.A.)
Toluca Lake (L.A.)
La Vina (Madera)
Lincoln (Anaheim)
Franklin (Anaheim)
Moreno (Ontario-Montclair)
Urbita (San Bernardino)
Potrero (Mountain Empire)
Horton (San Diego)
Ditmar (Oceanside)
Laurel (Menlo Park)
Whaley (Evergreen)
Bonita (Newman-Crows Landing)
Kings River (Kings River)

Grade Eight

Arts School (Oakland)
Claremont (Oakland)
Alvina (Alvina)
Pacific (Pacific)
Raisin City (Raisin City)
Seeley (Seeley)
Buena Vista (Buena Vista)
Lerdo (Lerdo)
Sunset (Vineland)
Stratford (Central Union)
Holland (Jerry D.) (Baldwin)
Olive (Baldwin Park)
Sierra Vista (Baldwin)
Parent (Frank D.) (Inglewood)
Audubon (Los Angeles)
Graves (Graves)
San Ardo (San Ardo)
Sierra (Santa Ana)
Spurgeon (Santa Ana)
San Juan (San Juan Union)
DeAnza (Ontario-Monclair)
San Ysidro (San Ysidro)
Allensworth (Allensworth)
Briggs (Briggs)

Grade Twelve

*Emery High (Emery)
*Oakland Technical (Oakland)
Richmond (Richmond)
*Edison (Richmond)
*Roosevelt (Fresno)
*Parlier (Parlier)
*Bell (Los Angeles)
*Crenshaw (Los Angeles)
*Washington (Los Angeles)
*Bell Gardens (Montebello)
Whittier (Whittier)
*Nogales (Rowland)
Madera (Madera)
Le Grand (Le Grand)
*Coachella Valley (Coachella)
*San Diego (San Diego)
Castle Park (Sweetwater)
Edison (Stockton)

Distinguished School Award Winners

In 1985, California began a program to publicly recognize exemplary schools. To be nominated, schools must be performing in the upper quarter of their "comparison group"; further, test scores have to be improving. Nominees are then subjected to detailed scrutiny in a number of areas, including site visits from teams of evaluators.

Most of the award winning schools to date have been predominantly White; many serve students from the state's most affluent homes. But among those who survive the grueling review process are a number of predominantly Latino and Black schools.

Among the 1987 award winners, there are 25 elementary schools and 1 senior high school where Latinos and Blacks comprise at least 60% of the student population. Those include:

Marshall Elementary	(Fowler Unified)
Aynesworth Elementary	(Fresno Unified)
West Park Elementary	(West Park Elementary)
Geddes Elementary	(Baldwin Park Unified)
Tracy Elementary	(Baldwin Park Unified)
Commonwealth Avenue Elementary	(Los Angeles Unified)
Meyler Street Elementary	(Los Angeles Unified)
San Fernando Elementary	(Los Angeles Unified)
La Primaria Elementary	(Mountain View Elementary)
Jefferson Primary	(Pasadena Unified)
Hurley Elementary	(Rowland Unified)
La Vina Elementary	(Madera Unified)
Revere Elementary	(Anaheim Elementary)
Fremont Elementary	(Santa Ana Unified)
Madison Elementary	(Santa Ana Unified)
Jefferson Elementary	(Corona-Norco Unified)
Urbita Elementary	(San Bernardino City Unified)
Los Altos Elementary	(Chula Vista City)
Laurel Elementary	(Oceanside City Unified)

Alianza Elementary	(Pajaro Valley Joint Unified)
Kings River Elementary	(Kings River Union Elementary)
Lincoln Elementary	(Tulare City Elementary)
Crowley Elementary	(Visalia Unified)
Francis J. White Learning	(Woodlake Union Elementary)
Sweetwater Union High	(Southwest Senior High)

Other Exceptional Schools

Other California high schools serving minority students have made significant achievement gains in recent years. A number, like Los Angeles Unified's Lincoln and Banning, Salinas' Alisal, and San Francisco's Mission have significantly increased the number of students going to public and private 4-year colleges. Some, like Garfield High of Los Angeles, which alone accounts for 11% of all AP exams taken by Latinos in the *state*, have proven that the highest level classes can be an option for all students. Others, like LAUSD's Crenshaw and George Washington Prep have dramatically increased the number of students enrolled in college preparatory courses.

We cannot, of course, name all such schools. We do, however, commend those who, through their perseverance, are changing what it means to attend a predominantly Latino or Black school in California.

Portraits of Schools On the Move

SWEETWATER HIGH SCHOOL

Sweetwater Union High School District,
San Diego County

Grades 10 - 12

Alan Goycochea enjoys bittersweet success as principal of Sweetwater High School in National City. As head of a predominantly low-income Latino school, he can boast that Sweetwater High last year had the highest number of students in the district taking the SAT and that the 1987 graduating class earned $1.3 million in scholarships and grants.

Goycochea also points with pride to the fact that Chemistry sections at his school have increased from 2 to 9, that Calculus classes are jammed, and that, in stark contrast to five years ago, just as many girls as boys are enrolled in Chemistry and Physics classes.

A key to Sweetwater's move up has been the elimination of remedial math courses, as well as auto shop and home economics classes, and a goal of at least 50% Latino enrollment in Advanced Math and Science courses.

But success—and a knack for picking administrators and teachers committed to improving minority student achievement—has its price. In his nine years as principal at Sweetwater, seven of Goycochea's assistant principals have been promoted to principals of other schools. That's good news for the other schools, but makes it hard for Goycochea to keep a leadership team going.

A key to Sweetwater's move up has been the elimination of remedial math courses, as well as auto shop and home economics classes, and a goal of at least 50% Latino enrollment in Advanced Math and Science courses. Sweetwater has also recently begun work toward eliminating low level and remedial English courses. In addition, the following programs have made a big difference in achievement levels at Sweetwater.

- An individual learning support program, called AVID, designed to teach mid-range achievers the study skills they need to succeed in college preparatory courses and provide them with extra tutorial assistance and college visitations;
- A gifted and honors program for limited English proficient students, Advanced Placement Spanish and bilingual honors Chemistry classes—developed by one of Goycochea's newest assistant principals; and
- Getting Sweetwater named as a county test site for students taking the SAT and ACT.

But Goycochea's crowning glory is the PLATO program, a year-round, independent study program initiated in response to the dropout rate. Students work at their own pace on sophisticated computer equipment in a squeaky-clean center. The program has proved so successful that nearly 10 percent of the graduating class of 1987 came from PLATO, while 42 other former dropouts returned to regular classes at Sweetwater.

Sweetwater High School
College Admissions

	1985	1986	1987
Community Colleges	109	184	166
San Diego State University	32	33	66
University of California at San Diego	8	14	13

(Average Graduating Class: 400)

CLAREMONT MIDDLE SCHOOL

Oakland Unified School District

Grades 6 - 8

Barbara Daniels spent several weeks in deep thought before accepting her first assignment as principal to Claremont Middle School, a campus traditionally bypassed by the community's many White students.

Over the years, the school had become a dumping ground for students outside the attendance area, a troubled urban school with low academic achievement, low teacher morale, and a variety of discipline and racial problems.

Daniels was not so much concerned about all of that, but about whether the district would allow her the flexibility to "challenge a lot of old practices, take risks and do what really has to be done." In other words, Daniels said, she wanted to turn the school around.

The Claremont staff did away with labels like "remedial" and "slow learners" and, more importantly, eliminated the low-level courses associated with those labels.

Six years later, Daniels and her staff have indeed made changes: they have done away with tracking; they have transformed a lab previously used for low-achieving "pull-out" students into a computer center through which all students flow; and enrollment has jumped to more than 500 students in 1986-87 from a previous low of 350.

In addition, because of changes at the school and the diligent efforts of a parent group, the ethnic mix of students has shifted to more accurately reflect the school community, from 86% Black, 10% White, 1% Asian and 2% Latino in 1982-83 to 71% Black, 21% White, 4% Asian and 4% Latino in 1986-87.

The Claremont staff did away with labels like "remedial" and "slow learners" and, more importantly, eliminated the low-level courses associated with those labels. They required all students to take five core courses from the offerings in math, English, science, computers, social science and P.E. Also, virtually all students are given grade level books and enrichment activities—not just the middle and high achievers, as had been past practice.

Claremont staff believe they've been successful because teachers work together, learning from one another how students in the previous year have been prepared and what they must do to keep them achieving. They individualize instruction to the degree possible and make parents key partners in their children's school success. Daniels also encourages after-school clubs and has instituted many student awards for scholarship, citizenship and attendance.

These changes are clearly reflected in Claremont's CTBS scores, with students in the 7th grade jumping from performance in the 37th percentile in 1983 to the 57th percentile in 1986 and 8th graders leaping from the 36th percentile for reading in 1983 to the 70th percentile in 1986. In fact, Claremont scored above the 50th percentile in *all* areas tested at *all* grade levels in 1986, compared to just three years prior when all categories were at the 50th percentile or below.

Claremont Middle School
CTBS Test Results

Grade 6	1983 %tile	1984 %tile	1985 %tile	1986 %tile
Reading	—	—	71	71
Language	—	—	75	76
Math	—	—	72	71
Science	—	—	63	59
Social Science	—	—	70	70
Grade 7	**1983 %tile**	**1984 %tile**	**1985 %tile**	**1986 %tile**
Reading	34	54	69	57
Language	35	63	67	57
Math	50	67	74	72
Science	37	60	56	56
Social Science	43	70	70	62
Grade 8	**1983 %tile**	**1984 %tile**	**1985 %tile**	**1986 %tile**
Reading	36	39	64	70
Language	38	43	63	65
Math	37	43	63	65
Science	39	39	58	62
Social Science	46	49	70	65

BELL GARDENS ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Montebello Unified School District

Grades K-4

Bell Gardens is just the kind of school that many people associate with low achievement. It has a 40 percent student turnover rate and an ever-growing minority student population. Average class size is 32 and there are clear signs of over-crowding. Ninety percent of the 1300 students are Latino, drawn from a traditionally low-income community and entering school with very limited English skills.

And yet, students in this year-round school have scored increasingly well on CAP tests in recent years. What makes Bell Gardens successful is a commitment to excellence and a curriculum that helps students learn English while staying at grade level academically.

What makes Bell Gardens successful is a commitment to excellence and a curriculum that helps students learn English while staying at grade level academically.

The curriculum concentrates on development of high-level thinking and information processing skills. While a primary goal is ensuring that all students are English proficient and reading *at grade* level by the time they exit fourth grade, heavy emphasis is also placed on mathematics, science, and social studies.

In addition to effective school organization and a high quality curriculum, Bell Gardens' model for change focuses on staff development and parent involvement. The school's 40-plus teachers are encouraged to share successful teaching strategies across grade levels, and parents of new students are given an orientation about Bell Gardens and training in specific strategies for helping their children do well in school.

The school has set a goal for itself and all members of the school "family"—administrators, teachers, parents, and students are part of the team committed to high student achievement. This is a recipe for success and successful it's been.

The results so far? In contrast to the control group in other bilingual programs, fourth grade students who have participated in the new curriculum for at least two years are reading at much higher levels and have also learned English more rapidly.

Bell Gardens Elementary School

CAP Test Results
Grade 3

Year	Reading	Written Expression	Math
82-83	233	215	246
83-84	254	231	267
84-85	273	254	292
85-86*	352	270	361

*In 85-86, Bell Gardens took part in an experimental bilingual and developmental program being conducted by the State Department of Education. Students were tested by instructional level rather than by traditional grade level. This resulted in students being tested who were working at or above third grade, in contrast to a more typical class containing many students average to below level. Children not tested in 85-86 will appear in later testing groups, thus future scores will more closely resemble earlier testing years.

PART SIX: A STRATEGY FOR CALIFORNIA

The portraits of Schools on the Move make it clear that, despite generally discouraging statewide patterns of achievement, minority and poor students CAN achieve at the highest levels and schools DO make a difference. At present, however, schools that work are the exception for minority and poor students. We must find ways to make them the rule. We must also further engage communities in helping students move up.

Over the past several years, the Achievement Council has been working to do just that. Through a range of initiatives—some conducted independently, others in cooperation with UCLA and other postsecondary institutions—we have been working with teachers and administrators in historically low-performing schools to help them raise student achievement levels. These include:

- the School Initiative, a long-term collaborative effort to help six high schools and their feeder elementary and junior high schools improve student achievement;
- annual Principal-to-Principal Institutes, wherein principals who have led their schools to big achievement gains teach other principals the steps to improving their schools;
- Counselors Institutes, designed to help junior and senior high school counselors learn strategies to prepare more minority and low-income students for higher education;
- Project TEAMS, residential institutes created to help historically low-performing schools build leadership teams of teachers and administrators committed to improving their schools, and knowledgeable about the school change process; and,
- the Community Initiative, an effort assisting parents and local community leaders and organizations to find better ways to encourage and support high achievement.

Though these efforts are still young, they are already showing promising results. We intend to continue them, and to expand in new directions.

These activities have given us what we believe are important insights into school and community functioning. We have also gained an understanding of what works in these settings and what does not. It is this understanding and knowledge that forms the basis for our recommendations.

We believe that the strategy outlined below would improve education in virtually any setting in California. In our minds, however, the priorities are clear. Unless we do something very quickly about the quality of the schools that serve minority and poor students, we will consign yet another generation of these young people to underachievement, underemployment and unfulfilled lives. These children cannot wait for a general improvement strategy to take hold. Society can't wait either, for the economic and social costs of continued educational failure are too great.

A Strategy for California

What will it take to turn around minority student achievement on a broad scale? We believe that, as a state, we will have to systematically raise our expectations for both minority and poor youngsters and the schools that serve them, as well as give them the help they need to do the job well.

Our recommendations are guided by the highest expectations of what schools, and the professionals in them, should provide to their students and of how parents and communities should support high achievement. These high expectations have led us to propose an explicit and aggressive new drive to improve achievement among minority and poor students. Not a drive that simply promotes excellence on the general level or provides a special support program here and there, but one that looks at the way in which whole schools are organized, and helps to bring about change on a broad scale.

Schools

An excellent school prepares all students—not just a chosen few—for full participation in our society. It is a place in which students are encouraged and given the resources to develop their skills and talents to the very limits of their capacities. Such a school erects no artificial barriers between groups, nor does it attempt to deny some students a chance to learn the best or the most. Rather, all students are exposed to the same rich core of knowledge by teachers who are well versed in their subject matter and in the variety of instructional strategies necessary to engage all learners.

In all of its interactions with students, an excellent school conveys a singular message: we believe in your potential, no matter what. To assure that all students reach that potential, teachers and administrators in such schools are constantly evaluating progress and exploring ways to improve.

There are few such schools in California, especially in minority communities. But there could be many more if teachers and administrators were to receive the help they need to reorganize their schools and rethink their normal practices.

A strategy aimed at accomplishing this must begin by acknowledging a simple fact: schools are the basic unit of change in education. Although other units—including districts, counties and even the state—can either facilitate or impede the change process, the process itself begins and ends with the school. If administrators and teachers at the site do not feel a need for

change and if they do not accept the extra work inherent in the change process, neither pressure nor support from any other level will work.

Based on our own work with schools throughout California, it is clear that schools, even those which on their own would not have undertaken a change process, can successfully do so—if they receive outside assistance. But such assistance cannot be short-term or sporadic. Relatively well-functioning schools may be able to move ahead by sending one teacher here or one department there, but low-performing schools need various forms of assistance pulled together into a cohesive whole. To move ahead, the staffs in such schools:

- Need to be convinced that their students can achieve at much higher levels and that the best way to accomplish this is through rigorous, basic education, not through special programs;
- Need help analyzing the strengths and weaknesses of their schools, including information on the performance of their students in relation to all others, not just those in "comparable" schools;
- Need help organizing for change, including upgrading the principal's leadership skills, creating leadership teams of teachers and administrators, getting cooperation from staff, students and parents, and creating a broad-based decision-making structure at the site;
- Need help in planning and carrying out change, including choosing priorities, staying focused on basic issues, and identifying and coordinating resources to support the change process;
- Need help throughout the implementation process, in monitoring, of change efforts and results, modifying plans as the school moves up, and ensuring that the improvement process doesn't stop after achieving only small gains.

As a first priority, the State of California should launch immediately an aggressive effort to improve school functioning and raise student achievement in low-performing schools.

Recommendations

In view of these needs, we recommend the following:

#1. *As a first priority, the State of California should launch immediately an aggressive effort to improve school functioning and raise student achievement in low-performing schools.* This initiative should include a specially designed school improvement effort aimed at building within participating schools both organizational capacity and commitment to change. It should be designed and carried out by the state's top practitioners from previously low-performing schools, working in collaboration with appropriate university, state, county and district offices.

The effort should include at least the following components, each carefully linked to the next:

YEAR ONE:

- *leadership team training* in the steps of the school improvement process, including techniques to analyze problems at their schools;
- *ongoing outside assistance* from a principal (or other leader) who has already led a school to improvement and can help guide the change process;
- *directed self-study* of the school's strengths and weaknesses;
- *intensive "super" program quality review* by a specially-selected team of outside experts;
- *broad discussions of new directions for the school*, involving the full school community and resulting in a new vision for the school;
- *visitations to exemplary schools*;
- *time for planning and development (at least 10 days annually)*; and,
- *exemption from regulations governing expenditure of categorical funds.*

YEAR TWO:

- *intensive retraining of teachers* during the summer;
- *continuing support for the leadership team*;
- *time for plan review and curriculum development*; and,
- *ongoing support, assistance and stimulation* from special leadership cadre and outside experts.

All students in California schools should be exposed to the same rigorous core curriculum, rich in ideas and concepts.

We recommend that this initiative be phased in quickly. Activity should get underway with approximately 150 schools the first year, with an additional 150-200 schools added each successive year. Each school should receive assistance for a minimum of three years.

#2. *All students in California schools should be exposed to the same rigorous core curriculum, rich in ideas and concepts.* Practices that currently interfere with such broad exposure for all students, including homogeneous ability grouping and tracking, should be eliminated.

#3. *Existing professional development and school improvement programs—including those sponsored by postsecondary institutions, County Offices of Education and the State Department of Education—should provide priority service to staff members in low-performing schools. In addition, new training opportunities should be created for practicing administrators designed specifically to raise their expectations for minority students and provide them with proven strategies for raising achievement.*

#4. *The State Department of Education should hold schools and districts accountable for implementing policies and practices associated with high achievement among all students—and for improving achievement among minority and low-income students.*

- Schools with low minority student achievement should be required to devise a five-year plan for improving achievement levels;
- Achievement trends, by ethnicity, should be monitored annually;
- The State Department of Education should report school performance comparing *all* schools in the state, not just within comparison groups; and,
- The State should take over operation of low-achieving schools that fail to improve significantly within five years.

#5. *The Governor, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and the chief executive officers of California's postsecondary systems should report to the public annually on their progress toward closing the achievement gap between students from different ethnic and economic groups.*

Principals

No one is more important in setting the tone and direction of a school than the principal. A leader with the right mix of drive and compassion, who has a clear vision of what the school can be and the ability to inspire similar visions in others, will lead even the lowest performing school to great heights. The right leader will find the many risks associated with such schools challenging.

Good principals have high expectations for students and staff, communicate those expectations clearly and consistently, and hold everyone, including themselves, accountable. They tolerate no arbitrary judgments about who can learn what, assuring, instead, that all students are exposed to the full range of knowledge our society believes important.

Good principals never lose sight of:

- the vision of what the school *will* become;
- the importance of choosing the best possible staff and fostering an environment that elicits from all staff members their very best performance; and,
- the constant need to analyze and monitor progress.

Not even a super principal can turn a school around alone. But a good leader knows how to articulate a clear vision for the school and engage others in the quest for excellence. Unfortunately, few principals have these important skills, in part because we don't teach such skills in administrator training programs. Given the critical importance of the principal, especially in low-achieving schools, this omission must be rectified.

Two years ago, we convened a group of principals who had led their schools to large achievement gains and asked them to help us answer three questions: (1) what are the steps through which a low-performing school must go to significantly raise student achievement levels?; (2) what skills, knowledge, vision and characteristics must the principal have in order to lead a school through those steps? and (3) can that set of knowledge and skills be passed along to others? Although the principals in attendance had varying styles and came from a variety of schools, they all agreed on the steps and the skills principals needed. They also agreed that these skills could be passed along.

Our own experience since that time has convinced us that they were right. In fact, we designed our Principal-to-Principal Institute around this agenda and made our group of super principals the faculty.

Through our work, many principals have learned about the steps to improving their schools. But much more is necessary, for there are many schools that remain untouched and others that need far more help than our organization can provide.

It is also important, we think, to look carefully at who gets assigned to principalships and at the relationship between schools and district offices. Despite all of the talk lately about supporting school-based decision-making, most successful principals still tell us that they are improving their schools *in spite of*, rather than because of, district action. The advice they pass along to their peers is telling: "Far better to beg for forgiveness later, than to ask permission now." To us, this suggests a need for careful local attention to what seems, in many cases, to be a near adversarial situation.

We suggest the following:

#6. *California school districts should assure that those whom they choose to fill principal positions in low-performing schools have leadership and management skills suited to this very specialized task.* The demands in schools such as these are, in fact, quite different from those in relatively well functioning schools. Districts should provide current and prospective leaders with the training they need to respond effectively to these demands, then support school-based decision-making involving both administrators and teachers.

#7. *To assist those who already hold principal positions, the State should support ongoing institutes for principals from predominantly minority schools, wherein successful principals share their experiences with others and help them to mount a strategy to improve their schools.*

#8. *To increase the number of individuals prepared for the leadership task in low-performing schools, the Governor and the Legislature should collaborate to:*

A. *create a Governor's Fellowship Program,* wherein promising professionals intent on becoming principals in historically low-achieving schools would serve a one-year paid internship, each semester in a different exemplary school under the guidance of an effective principal.

B. *encourage and support the creation of a prestigious, year-long training program*—based at a university but drawing heavily on the realities of both urban and rural schools—*to produce new leaders for predominantly minority schools.*

Teachers

Good principals can lead schools in new directions; good school plans can provide guidance and structure; good monitoring systems can measure and report progress. But, in the end, what matters most is good teaching.

Good teachers believe that all children can learn and view improved student achievement as *their* responsibility. In their interactions with students, they convey an unswerving conviction about a young person's potential. Because it's important to them that the whole school convey such a message, they participate fully in efforts to improve their schools, as well as in activities to improve their own instruction.

Good teachers understand that their students come to them with a range of skill levels, but that these differences needn't limit students' capacities to learn or to benefit from a curriculum rich in ideas and concepts. They do not separate out students with deficient skills; instead, they expose all of their students to knowledge in its full contextual complexity, knowing that students are more likely to make an effort to master skills when they see the connection to interesting ideas. Good teachers have mastered a variety of instructional strategies, and use these as appropriate to meet the needs of all students. Students who need more help get it, one way or another.

California has many good teachers. To watch them—and we have—is a true joy. Many others, however, are not so good: their command of the subject matter is limited and their instructional strategies are not adequate for our increasingly diverse student population. Perhaps more important, they do not believe that all youngsters can learn.

Unfortunately, there is a good deal of evidence that teachers of this sort are not evenly distributed. Teachers in schools that serve poor and minority youngsters are among the most demoralized in the profession and the least likely to have benefited from other education improvement efforts. Too, they tend to have less experience and education than their colleagues in the suburbs. Yet on their shoulders rests California's most important educational challenge: assuring that young Latinos, Blacks and Asian immigrants, who will collectively form the majority of the new workforce by the year 2000, master the skills they need to become productive citizens.

To change all this will require major efforts on at least three fronts:

- recruiting talented people of all races to the teaching profession in general and to predominantly minority schools, in particular;
- equipping both prospective and practicing teachers with the instructional strategies they need to assist all children in mastering the core curriculum, regardless of the skills those children bring to the classroom; and,
- supporting teachers in demanding classrooms with a broad array of resources, especially during their first year, and involving them in school decision-making.

Among all of these, we are most concerned about the preparation issue. In our interactions with teachers, especially those in inner cities, we are told over and over how terribly overwhelmed most of them feel. Again and again, they tell us that they were completely unprepared by their credential programs for the challenges of today's classrooms.

Unfortunately, although these problems have been brought to the attention of both the Commission on Teacher Credentialing and the various education schools and departments, we see little progress toward better preparation of teachers. Instead of being taught by the likes of Garfield's Jaime Escalante, Locke's Barbara Palmer, Audubon's Evaline Kruse, or Fremont's Lorna Mae Nagata, new teachers learn the ropes from professors who have not ventured into a classroom for many years. If we are to do an adequate job of preparing teachers, this situation must change.

On a practical level, we recommend the following:

#9. *The State of California should be far more aggressive in recruiting talented undergraduates to teacher training programs, including:*

- *offering guaranteed repayment of college loans for all high achieving undergraduates who go on to teach for at least three years in schools with large numbers of underachieving students;*
- *mounting a special campaign*—using charismatic teachers from predominantly minority schools, teaching internships and other strategies—*to encourage Latino and Black undergraduates to consider teaching as a profession.*

#10. *California must begin immediately to overhaul teacher preparation programs as necessary to assure that they equip all candidates with the skills they need to assist all children to master the core curriculum.* This process should be undertaken with the advice and assistance of the very best teachers from predominantly minority schools. The progress of publicly-supported teacher training programs should be closely monitored; state funding should be withdrawn from any that do not make substantial progress within three years.

#11. *As an interim measure, the State should create a new version of the Teacher Corps, whereby talented young people would receive special training—and special support—to teach in urban schools.*

#12. *In consultation with teacher organizations, school districts should reexamine the assignment and transfer policies that have led to serious imbalances in teacher talent between different kinds of schools.* Among the obvious changes to consider—one which would have clear benefits for students, as well as attraction for teachers—would be the use of categorical and other funding to reduce class sizes in schools with large numbers of poor children.

Parents

Most children spend more time with their parents than with anyone else. Even when parents work long hours, they are the first to see their children in the morning and the last to see them at night. The messages they convey in those hours are among the most crucial in determining how a youngster will fare in school.

Good parents appreciate the enormous influence they have on their children and do their best to use that influence wisely. They treat their children with respect and help them learn to believe in themselves by believing in them.

Good parents encourage their children to be all that they can be. Such parents support youngsters' efforts to learn new things. They acknowledge and build on successes, celebrating what is special about each of their children. They are also understanding when success does not come immediately—in school and out of school—but encourage their children to keep trying.

These days, it is hard for most parents to devote a lot of attention to their children's education. In most families, Dad and Mom work full time and have little time to find out how things are going in school and with homework. Still, parents who understand how schools function—and, in particular, how early decisions about what group or class a child is placed can determine eventual qualifications for college—can have a good deal of influence, both at the school and at home.

California must begin immediately to overhaul teacher preparation programs as necessary to assure that they equip all candidates with the skills they need to assist all children to master the core curriculum.

Parents who understand the ways schools work ask their children about school regularly and look carefully at school work that comes home. They let their children know that schooling is important—it is *their* work—and homework has a priority in the home. Such parents also talk with their children's teachers to find out how things are going and, whenever possible, try to ensure consistency between home and school messages. When their children are in the wrong, they face the problem squarely and make their children do so, as well.

For parents who have not completed much formal education themselves, all of this is more difficult. While these parents typically have high aspirations for their children, they often do not know how to translate those aspirations into day-to-day strategies that support and encourage high achievement.

Parents who have not completed much formal education are often unsure about by the way schools function. They do not feel entirely comfortable in the school setting, and thus do not visit very often. Many, especially those whose command of English is limited, will not question a placement decision or request more information about a disciplinary action.

Over the past several years, both schools and community organizations have launched a variety of programs aimed at helping parents learn how to assist their children in school. Some programs provide basic information about school operations, explaining things like testing practices and placement procedures, and helping parents to interpret what comes home from school. Others focus on school personnel, helping them to create a more welcoming environment for parents and teaching them how to inform parents about concrete approaches for helping their children.

In a number of communities, these programs have had a major impact on home-school interaction and, eventually, on student achievement. Because so many communities could benefit from such efforts, though, availability of these programs should be expanded.

But there is a deeper issue related to parents and communities and their influence on achievement: it is bound up in the matter of hope and hopelessness about the future, especially in our inner cities. The fact of the matter is that conditions in many of our central cities have become so harsh that many residents are simply overwhelmed. Over months and years, these conditions can crush the spirit and blot out any hope of escape.

The sheer concentration of poverty in some areas has an almost numbing effect on many who live here. With few signs of success around, and little reason to believe one's chances are any better, even trying can seem pointless. Consider these odds: young Black males in California are more than three times as likely to be murdered than to become eligible to attend the University of California. Whether they know the statistics or not, young people have a keen understanding of their chances for success.

. . . young Black males in California are more than three times as likely to be murdered than to become eligible to attend the University of California.

In settings like these, programs promoting home-school connections are not likely to make a major difference by themselves. Instead, it will be necessary to design a far more encompassing strategy—a strategy which:

- assists parents to learn skills associated with effective parenting, as well as how to improve their children's chances for a top education;
- provides quality experiences for children from the very earliest years; and,
- links government efforts with those based in the community.

None of this is easy. Our own Community Initiative has struggled with some of these issues, not always with success. But we believe that change is both necessary and possible.

With respect to these issues, then, we recommend that:

#13. *The Governor and the Legislature should immediately convene an interdisciplinary Task Force on Children-in-Need to assist in devising and mounting an aggressive, multi-pronged attack on the problems of the children most at risk in our society: those born in poverty.* The Task Force should explore the full range of necessary services, from pre-natal care through support programs during and after school.

Ethnic and community organizations should place children at the top of their action agendas, devising new ways to encourage student achievement, especially through parents.

#14. *Ethnic and community organizations should place children at the top of their action agendas, devising new ways to encourage student achievement, especially through parents.*

#15. *Both the State and private foundations should provide increased support for school- and community-based programs designed to help parents of minority and low-achieving students learn how to help their children do well in school.*

APPENDIX

Changes in California Population

	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
Latinos	11.9	19.2	24.7	29.4	34.0
Black	6.9	7.5	7.5	7.4	7.4
Asian/Other	3.2	6.7	9.7	11.6	13.0
White	78.0	67.0	58.1	51.6	45.6

Source: "Projected Total Population for California By Race/Ethnicity." Population Research Unit, State Department of Finance, Sacramento, California

Net Migration: California 1975 - 1980

	In	Out	Net
Latinos	545,906	139,357	406,549
Black	197,541	100,188	97,353
Whites	2,010,327	1,565,038	445,289

Source: California: The State and its Educational System. Hodgkinson, Harold; Institute for Educational Leadership, Inc.; Washington, D. C.; 1986.

California Seniors in Poverty

	1980	1986
Number 65+ in Poverty	231,511	190,875
Percent of All Seniors	9.9%	7.3%

Source: Current Population Survey Reports 1980; 1986. California State Census Data Center.

Enrollment in California Public Schools by Ethnicity 1986-1987

White	51.0
Latino	29.6
Black	9.2
Asian	7.0
Filipino	2.0
American Indian	0.7
Pacific Islander	0.5

Source: CBEDS, California State Department of Education, Sacramento, California.

CAP Reading and Math Statewide Means Grades 3, 6, 8, & 12 1984 - 1987

Grade 3	83/4	84/5	85/6	86/7
Reading	268	274	280	283
Math	274	278	283	285
Grade 6				
Reading	249	253	260	260
Math	261	264	268	268
Grade 8				
Reading	250	240	243	247
Math	250	251	253	259
Grade 12				
Reading	62.2	62.9	62.7	63.6
Math	67.4	68.3	68.7	70.0

CAP Scores By Ethnicity Grades 3 and 6 1987

	GRADE 3		GRADE 6	
	Reading	Math	Reading	Math
Latino	245	255	222	234
Black	230	237	234	224
Asian	288	310	272	307
White	308	306	288	291

CAP Scores by Ethnicity Grade 8

Reading	84-85	85-86	86-87
Latino	194	199	202
Black	189	196	200
Asian	247	257	266
White	271	275	279
Math			
Latino	204	208	212
Black	189	194	200
Asian	293	306	314
White	278	282	288

CAP Scores By Ethnicity Grade 12

Reading	1986	1987
Latino	55.5	56.5
Black	54.9	56.5
Asian	58.6	60.0
White	67.6	68.2
Math		
Latino	60.8	62.4
Black	57.4	59.2
Asian	75.1	76.1
White	72.7	73.8

CAP Scores by School Ethnic Composition Grade 3

Reading Percent Latino & Black	83/84	84/85	85/86	86/87
0-20%	301.3	308.7	312.4	314.4
21-40%	278.5	281.9	286.8	288.7
41-60%	257.9	262.6	268.8	269.9
61-80%	240.1	244.8	251.2	253.0
81 + %	217.6	224.7	230.5	230.0
Math Percent Latino & Black				
0-20%	300.1	306.4	309.7	312.3
21-40%	282.0	287.0	288.6	291.0
41-60%	266.2	269.7	275.6	275.9
61-80%	252.1	255.3	260.6	261.6
81 + %	233.1	237.4	241.9	240.6

CAP Scores by School Ethnic Composition
Grade 6

Reading				
Percent	83/84	84/85	85/86	86/87
Latino & Black				
0-20%	275.7	283.6	289.3	289.8
21-40%	255.8	259.4	266.3	266.3
41-60%	240.9	245.4	252.6	253.0
61-80%	224.7	230.2	236.4	236.7
81 + %	203.1	206.8	214.2	213.4
Math				
Percent				
Latino & Black				
0-20%	282.7	287.9	291.2	292.4
21-40%	266.4	269.9	273.6	274.7
41-60%	253.5	256.9	262.4	262.6
61-80%	240.6	243.4	247.1	247.0
81 + %	218.7	222.6	227.9	225.9

CAP Scores by School Ethnic Composition
Grade 8

Reading				
Percent	83/84	84/85	85/86	86/87
Latino & Black				
0 - 20%	283.1	272.9	274.7	278.4
21-40%	252.1	243.6	246.5	251.4
41-60%	233.7	225.0	229.6	233.9
61-80%	213.7	204.8	208.4	212.8
81 + %	192.9	178.8	189.4	188.1
Math				
Percent				
Latino & Black				
0-20%	297.4	278.8	279.0	285.9
21-40%	253.6	253.7	257.7	264.5
41-60%	233.7	240.6	243.1	252.3
61-80%	219.7	221.5	227.4	231.7
81 + %	210.2	206.4	211.5	219.8

CAP Scores by School Ethnic Composition
Grade 12

Reading				
Percent	83/84	84/85	85/86	86/87
Latino & Black				
0-20%	65.2	65.7	65.5	66.3
21-40%	61.2	61.9	62.0	62.3
41-60%	57.9	58.9	58.2	59.4
61-80%	55.7	56.7	56.2	57.5
81 + %	49.9	51.0	50.7	52.9
Math				
Percent				
Latino & Black				
0-20%	69.9	71.1	71.1	72.4
21-40%	66.0	67.0	67.5	68.6
41-60%	62.7	63.6	64.1	65.3
61-80%	60.7	61.0	62.0	63.5
81 + %	52.8	54.2	54.5	56.3

CAP Scores
by Parent Occupation
Grade 3

Reading	1984	1987
Professional	336	350
Semiprofessional	297	310
Skilled/Semiskilled	262	276
Unskilled	223	239
Math		
Professional	330	343
Semiprofessional	296	307
Skilled/Semiskilled	268	281
Unskilled	239	251

CAP Scores
by Parent Occupation
Grade 6

Reading	1984	1987
Professional	315	324
Semiprofessional	278	290
Skilled/Semiskilled	242	254
Unskilled	202	219
Math		
Professional	320	326
Semiprofessional	284	293
Skilled/Semiskilled	254	262
Unskilled	221	233

CAP Scores by Parent Education
Grade 8

Reading	83-84	84-85	85-86	86-87
Advanced Degree	317	308	313	318
College Grad	275	267	272	277
Some College	262	254	252	261
High School Grad	223	212	218	220
Not Grad	185	177	182	188
Math				
Advanced Degree	318	319	323	329
College Grad	276	278	282	288
Some College	258	261	263	269
High School Grad	221	222	226	231
Not Grad	192	194	199	205

CAP Scores by Parent Eduation
Grade 12

Reading	1985-86	1986-87
Advanced Degree	69.9	70.6
College Graduate	66.0	66.7
Some College	64.6	65.1
High School Grad	58.4	59.4
Non Graduate	52.4	53.0
Math		
Advanced Degree	76.7	77.7
College Graduate	72.2	73.5
Some College	69.7	70.8
High School Grad	63.7	65.1
Non Graduate	59.8	60.8

Estimated Grade-Point Averages of California Public High School Graduates

	1983	1986
Latino	2.42	2.44
Black	2.26	2.29
Asian	2.96	2.96
White	2.69	2.65

Source: California Postsecondary Education Commission.

Cumulative Grade-Point Averages Oakland Unified School District High School Juniors, 1985

	below 2.0	2.0-2.99	3.0 and above
Black	74.5%	20.3%	5.2%
Latino	81.1%	8.2%	10.7%

Source: East Bay Consortium of Educational Institutions, Inc. Oakland, California.

Cumulative Grade Point Averages San Diego Unified School District High School Juniors, 1983 & 1987

	below 2.0	2.0-2.9	3.0 and above
Latinos			
1983	38%	45%	17%
1987	44.5%	44%	11.6%
Blacks			
1983	44%	46%	10%
1987	52.6%	40.2%	7.2%
Asians			
1983	14%	44%	42%
1987	n/a	n/a	n/a
Whites			
1983	20%	48%	32%
1987	n/a	n/a	n/a

Source: San Diego State University, San Diego, California.

Enrollment in Select Academic Courses 1984 - 1987

	1983-84	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87
Advanced Mathematics*	28	32	33	37
Chemistry**	25	31	37	42
Physics**	10	12	14	16
Advanced Science*	n/a	n/a	49	50

* Number Enrolled per 100 Juniors and Seniors
**Number Enrolled per 100 Seniors

Enrollment in Advanced Mathematics by Ethnicity*

	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87
Latino	5.7	6.0	6.8
Black	6.8	6.1	6.8
Asian/Filipino	31.7	33.4	35.5
White	14.8	13.9	15.3

*Number Enrolled Per 100 Juniors and Seniors

Enrollment in Physics by Ethnicity*

	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87
Latino	5.8	6.4	8.2
Black	6.6	7.6	9.8
Asian/Filipino	30.4	35.2	38.5
White	14.2	15.2	17.3

*Number Enrolled Per 100 Seniors

Enrollment in Chemistry by Ethnicity*

	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87
Latino	17.4	25.3	29.7
Black	21.7	29.8	35.7
Asian/Filipino	57.0	67.5	68.7
White	34.6	40.6	44.4

*Number Enrolled per 100 Seniors

A - F Completion Rate 25 Largest California Districts 1986

	Completion Rate
Schools in Top Quartile of Parent Education Index	38.4
State Average	28.8
Schools in Bottom Quartile of Parent Education Index	19.5

Source: Hayward, Gerald. "High School Curriculum and Admissions Requirements: A Critical Linkage." PACE, 1987.

Advanced Placement Exams California Students

	1985	1986	1987
Total No. of Exams	42,948	50,163	59,489
Latinos	2,784 (6.5%)	3,586 (7.1%)	4,877 (8.2%)
Blacks	787 (1.8%)	967 (1.9%)	1,172 (2.0%)
Asians	7,808 (18.2%)	10,079 (20.1%)	12,303 (20.7%)
White	24,800 (57.7%)	27,537 (54.9%)	30,044 (50.5%)

Source: Advanced Placement Program: National and California Summary Reports — 1985, 1986, 1987. The College Board.

Advanced Placement Exams
California Students Scoring 3 or Higher
1987

	Number	Percent of Total Tested
Latino	3120	.64
Black	527	.45
Asian	8395	.68
White	21,338	.71

Source: 1987 Advanced Placement Program: National and California Summary Reports. The College Board.

Proportion of Seniors Taking the SAT 1980 and 1985

	Total	Latino	Black	Asian	White
1985					
# Seniors	254211	47907	23005	19005	157291
# SAT Takers	104583	8462	5643	14165	57897
Proportion Seniors Taking SAT	(.41)	(.18)	(.25)	(.75)	(.37)
1980					
# Seniors	279544	44158	26790	12590	190220
# SAT Takers	102708	6908	6447	9943	64000
Proportion Seniors Taking SAT	(.37)	(.16)	(.24)	(.79)	(.34)

Source: "California College Bound Seniors, 1976-1985." The College Board.

SAT Scores
California Students

VERBAL

	1976	1980	1985	1987
Latino	368	371	379	374
Black	331	333	353	359
Asian	412	392	385	387
White	456	450	454	453
Gap Latino/White	88	79	75	79
Gap Black/White	125	117	101	94

MATH

	1976	1980	1985	1987
Latino	404	408	421	419
Black	354	364	386	388
Asian	508	498	505	508
White	494	491	497	499
Gap Latino/White	90	83	76	80
Gap Black/White	140	127	111	111

Source: California College Bound Seniors, 1976-1985, 1987. The College Board.

Annual Parental Income
By SAT Average
California

SAT Average	Mean Income 1976	1985
350-399	18600	38700
400-449	20000	42900
450-499	21400	46100
500-549	22600	48400
550-599	23400	50300
600-649	25200	53700

Source: California College Bound Seniors, 1976-1985. The College Board.

ACT Assesment Results
California Students
1983 - 1986

	ENGLISH	MATH	SOCIAL STUDIES	NATURAL SCIENCE	COMPOSITE
Black					
1986	15.0	12.2	12.7	15.9	14.1
1985	14.8	11.9	12.9	15.8	13.9
1984	14.3	11.6	12.7	15.5	13.7
1983	14.1	11.1	12.8	15.5	13.5
White					
1986	20.1	19.5	19.7	22.5	20.6
1985	19.9	19.3	19.2	22.4	20.3
1984	19.5	18.8	19.0	22.2	20.0
1983	19.2	18.4	19.1	22.0	19.8
Mexican American					
1986	15.9	14.8	14.6	18.1	16.0
1985	15.7	14.8	14.6	18.2	15.9
1984	15.1	14.2	14.0	17.3	15.3
1983	15.2	13.6	14.8	17.5	15.4
Asian American					
1986	18.1	22.0	17.2	21.6	19.9
1985	17.7	21.5	17.1	21.4	19.6
1984	17.7	21.5	16.8	21.0	19.4
1983	17.5	21.0	17.2	21.0	19.3

Source: American College Testing Program. Iowa City, Iowa.

Ethnicity of First-time College Freshmen in Fall 1986 and Percentage Point Change Since Fall 1983

	UC 1986 Percent	UC Since 1983	CSU 1986 Percent	CSU Since 1983	CCC 1986 Percent	CCC Since 1983	IND* 1986 Percent
White	58.9	-7.1	62.8	-3.2	63.8	-1.9	76.3
Hispanic	9.6	+1.8	11.2	-0.4	16.8	+1.8	8.0
Black	5.1	0.0	6.3	-1.0	8.6	-1.4	4.8
Asian	21.9	+4.6	15.3	+3.8	7.0	+1.4	10.5

* Includes 61 member institutions of the Association of Independent California Colleges and Universities.

Source: California Postsecondary Education Commission

Representation Ratios:
High School Graduates
Public College Freshmen

	1981 % HS Grads	1981 % College Frosh	1981 Ratio	1984 % HS Grads	1984 % College Frosh	1984 Ratio	1986 % HS Grads	1986 % College Frosh	1986 Ratio
Latino	16%	14.5	.91	18.1	14.3	.79	18.6	14.9	.80
Black	8.5%	9.1	1.07	8.7	8.3	.95	8.4	7.7	.92
Asian	5.0%	6.1	1.22	7.2	8.9	1.24	7.9	10.5	1.33
White	68.3%	66.4	.97	63.6	64.6	1.02	62.2	62.9	1.01

Proportion of College Students in 2 year vs. 4 year Public Institutions
1986

	2 year	4 year	
	CCC	CSU	UC
Latino	77.8	13.5	8.7
Black	76.6	14.7	8.7
Asian	45.9	26.3	27.8
White	69.5	18.0	12.5

Community College Transfer Students to UC and CSU By Ethnicity
Fall, 1983-86

Transfer to	Year	White	Hispanic	Black	Asian
UC	1983	73.0	8.9	4.2	12.0
	1984	72.5	9.6	3.3	12.2
	1985	70.7	10.8	3.3	12.6
	1986	69.5	10.0	3.9	13.7
CSU	1983	72.0	9.7	6.6	9.3
	1984	71.7	9.7	6.4	9.5
	1985	71.0	10.0	5.8	9.9
	1986	70.1	10.6	5.5	10.4

Source: California Postsecondary Education Commission.

Bachelors, Masters, and Doctoral Degrees Granted By Ethnicity* UC and CSU

Bachelors	Latino	Black	Asian	White
UC				
1982	828 (4.4)	447 (2.4)	2129 (11.2)	4218 (75.0)
1986	1104 (5.3)	558 (2.7)	2928 (14.0)	5379 (73.5)
CSU				
1982	2473 (7.2)	1715 (5.0)	2658 (7.7)	25766 (75.0)
1986	3014 (7.6)	1569 (3.9)	3773 (9.5)	29610 (74.3)
Masters				
UC				
1982	193 (4.3)	121 (2.7)	349 (7.7)	3407 (75.5)
1986	215 (5.2)	117 (2.8)	388 (9.3)	3307 (79.3)
CSU				
1982	387 (5.7)	345 (5.0)	427 (6.3)	5314 (77.8)
1986	420 (5.9)	291 (4.1)	520 (7.4)	5586 (79.0)
Doctoral				
UC				
1982	45 (2.9)	34 (2.2)	100 (6.4)	1102 (70.6)
1986	59 (3.9)	35 (2.3)	118 (7.8)	1214 (80.3)

*Domestic Students Only

California Public Schools Staffing by Ethnicity 1980, 1985 and 1987

Superintendents	1980	1985	1987
Asian	1.4	0.6	0.6
Hispanic	3.3	3.2	3.0
Black	1.9	1.8	1.5
White	92.4	92.9	94.0
Principals			
Asian	1.5	1.8	2.2
Hispanic	5.3	7.7	8.3
Black	6.2	8.0	8.6
White	86.1	81.5	79.8
Teachers			
Asian	3.1	3.4	3.4
Hispanic	5.5	6.6	6.7
Black	6.2	6.6	6.2
White	84.0	81.9	82.1

California Basic Educational Skills Test (CBEST) Passing Rate by Ethnicity 1986-87

	Number Tested	Percent Passing
Latino	2794	56
Black	2111	34
Asian	1257	61
White	37088	81

Source: Commission on Teacher Credentialing. Sacramento, California.

Multiple & Single Subject Teaching Credential Candidates by Ethnicity Fall, 1986

	CSU	UC	IND	Total
TOTAL	3974	827	2505	7304
Latino	262	44	172	478
Black	74	21	75	170
Asian	138	29	82	249
White	302	626	2056	5702

Source: Commission on Teacher Credentialing Sacramento, California.